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3 October 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1454

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

HONECKER GREETES HUSAK--Prague, CTK--While flying over Czechoslovakia's territory on his way to pay an official visit to the Bulgarian People's Republic Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee secretary general and chairman of the GDR State Council, sent Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, the following telegram: On flying over the CSSR's territory for my official friendly visit to the Bulgarian People's Republic I sent you and all working people of your country friendly and cordial greetings. I wish you and the friendly people of Czechoslovakia further successes in building the developed socialist society in the CSSR and in our common fight for peace and socialism. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Sep 77 p 1 AU] Prague, CTK--While flying over Czechoslovakia's territory on his return trip from his official visit to the Bulgarian People's Republic Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the GDR State Council, sent the following telegram to Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president: While flying over the CSSR's territory while returning from the official friendly visit to the Bulgarian People's Republic I send you and the working people of your country cordial greetings. I am making use of this occasion to again express the wishes of further successes to the CSSR's fraternal people in building the developed socialist society in the CSSR and in our common fight for peace and security in the world. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Sep 77 p 1 AU]

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ALBANIA

'ZERI I POPULLIT' COMMEMORATES DPRK ANNIVERSARY

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 9 Sep 77 p 4 AU

[Editorial article: "An Event of Historical Importance for the Korean People"]

[Text] The Korean people today celebrate an important event in their history, the 29th anniversary of the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea [DPRK]. The liberation of the country from the Japanese militarists and the creation of the republic to the north of the 38th Parallel opened up a new era for the Korean people, opening to them prospects for profound political, economic and social transformations. The Korean people achieved this great victory by persistent struggle and efforts against the external and internal enemies, for genuine national liberation and social progress. Yet, in the south of the country the course of events developed in a completely different direction, where the Japanese militarists were replaced by new enemies, the American imperialists, who established a puppet fascist regime in South Korea through force.

With provocations and plots the American imperialists and their lackeys in Seoul did their utmost to liquidate the people's regime in the northern part of the country. Within the framework of their aggressive global strategy, the American imperialists, having failed in their efforts, on 25 June 1950 unleashed the barbarous attack against the DPRK, its aim being to turn the whole Korean Peninsula into a U.S. colony and a military base for plots and aggressions against the other peoples of Asia. However, as events revealed, the heroic and freedom-loving Korean people were neither cowed nor did they submit. In those difficult moments for them the Korean people, led by the Korean Workers Party, resolutely arose in the people's struggle, dealt successive blows to the American imperialist aggressors, heroically defended the people's regime in the DPRK and, finally, forced the American aggressors to shamefully withdraw and sign the armistice agreement in Panmunjom on 27 July 1953.

The Korean people are celebrating this significant event in their history, the 29th anniversary of the founding of the DPRK, with new successes in all

fields of socialist building, in developing and strengthening the economy, education and culture.

Life confirms that, despite the serious defeats they have suffered, the enemies of the Korean people--the American imperialists and their collaborators and tools--have not at all given up their devilish designs and unceasing aggressive activity against the DPRK. It is an indisputable fact that American imperialism, camouflaged under the UN flag, still maintains an aggressive army of over 40,000 men in South Korea, and it has deployed modern arms, including nuclear missiles and weapons, in South Korea. New contingents have been added. Washington's all-out support for Pak Chong-hui's puppet fascist clique has been increased, and there have been incessant armed provocations and threats by the American imperialists and their Seoul lackeys against the DPRK. In the face of this situation, the Korean people continue their just struggle to defend the DPRK, to oust the occupying American troops from South Korea and to realize their legitimate national aspiration, the independent unification of their fatherland.

The Albanian people--led by the Workers Party, headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, and educated in the spirit of proletarian internationalism--have always supported the just struggle of the Korean people against the American imperialist aggressors and their collaborators and tools. On this national holiday our people convey to the fraternal Korean people greetings and wishes for new victories in further strengthening the DPRK and in their struggle for the liberation of South Korea and the independent reunification of their fatherland in struggle against the aggressive plans of American imperialism.

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## ALBANIA

### AWP ORGAN DISCUSSES GUIDELINES FOR CLASS STRUGGLE

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Issue No 5, May 77 pp 34-45 AU

[Article by Hajro Zeneli: "The Class Struggle Is Waged Frontally Against the Internal and External Enemies and in all Fields"]

[Text] Our Workers Party, guided by the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism on the class struggle and implementing, defending and enriching them under the existing historical conditions of our socialist revolution and development of the class struggle against modern revisionism and opportunists of all shades on an international scale, has waged and is always waging this struggle frontally against the internal and external enemies, within the ranks of the people and its own ranks, as well as in all political, economic, ideological and military fields.

Such a notion on and development of the class struggle is primarily dictated by the frontal development of our socialist revolution itself, which, in its uninterrupted advance, integrates and merges into a single unity the accomplishment of the tasks on a national and international scale, seeks continual revolutionization of the entire life of the country and the party itself, is intensified and at the same time solves tasks on all fronts. However, as experience has also revealed, this development of the revolution and our socialist building is not carried out peacefully. It is achieved in the process of a many-sided struggle to overcome the many obstacles and difficulties of growth, and especially in the process of the fierce class struggle between the two roads--the socialist road and the capitalist one--confronting and defeating the enraging resistance and the savage counter-revolutionary activity of the internal and external class enemies and the overt and covert enemies who also unite, coordinate their activity and oppose us by every possible means and in all directions.

The development of the revolution and the building of socialism along this road constitutes an objective legality. Because our party has strictly adhered to this legality and because it has resolutely implemented the line of the class struggle and has waged it consistently and frontally, our people have achieved great successes and victories in the revolution and the

building of socialism. As the leading force of the country's entire life, the party itself has been strengthened in the fire of this frontal class struggle, our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat--as the fundamental weapon of the revolution--has been consolidated and steeled, and our entire socioeconomic socialist order has been developed and perfected.

By generalizing the rich revolutionary experience acquired in the process of this fierce class struggle on a national and international scale, our party has drawn lessons and conclusions of great theoretical and practical value. The Seventh AWP Congress drew attention to and emphasized several important theses of the development of the class struggle. They include, among other things, the conclusions that "a very close connection and cooperation exists between the internal and the external fronts of the struggle of the class enemies" and that "...we should withstand the united front of the enemies by strengthening our internal front in all directions--in the defense, economic, political and ideological fields--by always consistently waging the class struggle." (Enver Hoxha, "Report at Seventh AWP Congress," pp 131, 133)

The party teaches us that at the foundation of the very close connections and cooperation between the internal and external enemies lie their class interests, their mutual anticommunist ideology, their contempt for and hostility against the socialist order, their common designs for restoration, the need to support one another in the struggle against the socialist order and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The enemies of the revolution and socialism, whether external or internal, have identical economic and political interests. Their aim is to restore private ownership and the bourgeois political regime, the system of oppression and exploitation of man by man. In their efforts to attain these common counterrevolutionary aims, the external enemies have always coordinated their overt and covert activity with the internal enemies, with the former exploiting, overthrown classes, before their liquidation as a class, and with their remnants, which still exist for a long time even after the liquidation of the exploiting classes as a class.

The whole period of over three decades since the liberation of our country has fully confirmed the close cooperation of the internal and external enemies in their attempts at restoration. Right after the triumph of our people's revolution and establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the overthrown exploiting classes within the country and the bourgeoisie and international imperialism reorganized and extensively reactivated the close counterrevolutionary coalition which they created during the national liberation struggle. This active coalition materialized in the organization of plots and armed revolts by the internal enemies in cooperation with the external enemies, the training and sending into our country of spies and diversionists who relied on the hostile internal elements, and the organization of sabotage, hostile diversive activity, and so forth. And the facts reveal that the collaboration of the internal and external enemies, regardless of the forms it has assumed to adjust to the situations created in various stages, still continues in our day and will continue in the future.

However, by defending and further developing the Marxist-Leninist theory of the class struggle under the conditions of socialism, uncovering the reasons and sources which resulted in the birth of revisionism and restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and in some other countries, and generalizing and synthesizing the positive experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of socialist building in our country, the party has reached the conclusion that within the country there also exists--along with the old enemies, the remnants of the former exploiting classes--the danger of the emergence of new enemies, the danger of degeneration of particular people, the emergence of new bourgeois elements and their transformation into counterrevolutionaries. The party has also stressed that it is these very elements who, replenishing the contingents of the internal enemy, constitute the most preferable support for the external enemies. "International experience and that of our country," Comrade Enver Hoxha noted at the Seventh AWP Congress, "indicate that the hope of the bourgeoisie and the reaction for a return to capitalism is not based only on the remnants of the old exploiting classes, nor only on the foreign agents and diversionists. They pin their hope especially on other enemies of socialism who crop up within the ranks of socialist society itself...." (Enver Hoxha, "Report at the Seventh AWP Congress," p 129). It happens this way because, as a rule, these new hostile elements, by not appearing openly with the anticommunist banner and by concealing their hostile activity behind pseudorevolutionary catchwords, respond more effectively to the preferred tactics which the bourgeoisie and international reaction use at present in their designs to overthrow socialism through the path of liberalism and by weakening and dividing the internal front of the socialist country in order to create suitable conditions to either seize the fortress from within or to facilitate the realization of their aims through aggression from abroad.

The new hostile enemies, having common class interests, also establish ties and cooperate with the external enemies, this also being confirmed by the experience of the class struggle in our country. All the internal enemies of the party and people, starting from the treacherous group of Koci Xoxe--as a dangerous agent in the service of the Yugoslav revisionists, whose aim was to liquidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism in Albania--and other enemies such as Liri Belishova and Koco Tashko, who were assigned by the treasonous revisionist group of Khrushchev the task "of seizing the fortress from within," carrying out the revisionist counterrevolution and subordinating our country to the imperialist aims and interests of the Soviet Union, and the hostile and conspiratorial groups of the last few years, including that of Fadil Pacrami and Todi Lubonja and that of Beqir Balluku, Petrit Dume, Hito Cako, Abdyl Kellezi, Koco Theodhosi and Kico Ngjela: all have operated in close cooperation and connection with the foreign imperialist and revisionists enemies and coordinated between them the plans and tactics to achieve their counterrevolutionary designs for restoring capitalism in Albania and liquidating the freedom and independence of our socialist fatherland.

Our people, led by the party and with its members in the forefront, have consistently waged the class struggle against the old and new enemies and their menacing activity and have resolutely uncovered and crushed them. By this means we strengthen our internal front. However, the Seventh AWP Congress drew attention to the fact that the uncovering and crushing at a given time of particular elements, or of a hostile group, should not lull us and make us think that this means that the enemies and the hostile activity have ended. The reason this is not so is the fact that as long as the class struggle continues, as long as there exists the hostile bourgeois pressure from within and from abroad, and as long as there still exist conditions under which new enemies may also emerge, there will also be hostile activity. The party therefore has demanded and demands that all communists and workers preserve and further develop their high revolutionary vigilance; familiarize themselves with the methods and tactics used by the enemies; show particular attention to the class assessment and to the handling of manifestations, no matter how small, which contradict the interests of socialism; uncover any hostile, antisocialist and antiparty activity, no matter how camouflaged it may be; and struggle resolutely to crush them. On the other hand, it is a fact that even after uncovering and crushing the particular elements, or a hostile group, the struggle goes on in order to liquidate the consequences of the hostile activity in that circle of people, or in those sectors and fields of life where this activity has been practiced. The party advises us that this struggle, too, requires care and vigilance, profound principled-mindedness and careful work with the people, the aim being to avoid both opportunistic and sectarian attitudes in the development of the class struggle. By waging the class struggle in this way, correctly and with a higher vigilance, we strengthen and make unbreakable our internal front, weaken the hostile internal front and, by so doing, also weaken the supporting base and the influence of the hostile external front.

Our party and the experience of our socialist revolution itself, as a positive experience, have rejected all the hostile bourgeois-revisionist theories that socialism allegedly has no future and that the emergence of revisionism and restoration of capitalism are allegedly an inevitable fatality. They have confirmed the righteousness and the vitality of the Marxist-Leninist teachings of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha on the possibility of preventing and eliminating the danger of the bourgeois-revisionist degeneration of the country and restoration of capitalism. Barring the way and not letting revisionism cross into our country and the successful building of socialism are linked with the fact that our party has firmly pursued and pursues a correct Marxist-Leninist line, has consistently waged and wages the class struggle in all fields, has strengthened and is incessantly consolidating the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and has struggled and is struggling to bar all the paths from which the revisionist degeneration and counterrevolution emerge and stem. In this respect, the correct Marxist-Leninist guidelines of our party are of extraordinarily great importance, as are the measures taken by the party, including, among others, the measures to narrow the discrepancy between the countryside and

the city, to narrow the difference between high and low pay, and to preserve the revolutionary spirit of communists and cadres through accountability before the masses, through placing them under a double control, through rotation of cadres and their work directly in production, through development of the class struggle, and so forth. The aim of all these measures and others has been and remains to resist all the negative manifestations which do not belong to the nature of socialism, to strengthen our internal front in all directions, and to check the base and the opportunities of the activity of the hostile front.

This historical experience has a colossal theoretical and practical value for a successful building of socialism and communism in our country under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and development of the fierce class struggle. Its value goes beyond the boundaries of our socialist fatherland and serves as a positive experience for the working class and other peoples in their struggle for progress, socialism and communism.

Our socialist revolution has scored great victories on the ideological front. The Seventh AWP Congress pointed out that the successes achieved in this field constitute one of the most important victories of the party and of the people. Our new socialist, revolutionary man is being ever more molded and tempered with a Marxist-Leninist world outlook, with high political consciousness and socialist moral virtues, with a sense of responsibility for the destiny of the revolution and socialism, and with a spirit of sacrifice. The proletarian revolutionary ideology has become the dominating ideology in our country. However, the Seventh AWP Congress stressed that "...this sound and revolutionary reality should not induce us to weaken, no matter how slightly, our struggle on the ideological front"; that the struggle on this front "constitutes one of the main directions of the class struggle"; and that this struggle "should be waged all out on all fronts against both liberalism and bureaucracy, against the vestiges of the ideology of the old exploiting classes as well as against the influences and manifestations of current bourgeois and revisionist ideologies."

Through the promotion of the revolution on the ideological front, our party desires that the proletarian ideology, from a position of general domination in our country, should win a position of domination in the consciousness of every communist and worker, that they should be in a state of revolution at all times, that they should not detach themselves from the revolution even for one moment, that they should struggle and work selflessly throughout life for the great cause of the party, for socialism and communism. And this is achieved in the flames of a bitter ideological class struggle against all traces of foreign ideologies in everyone's consciousness, but particularly against the full pressure of our internal and external enemies in this field.

Being a large and very complicated front of struggle, the ideological front also represents one of the fields in which our external and internal enemies wage their hostile activity and oppose us with the greatest intensity, trying to disseminate among our people their counterrevolutionary, bourgeois, revisionist and religious ideology, views and concepts and their degenerate bourgeois way of thinking and living in order to thus instill in our people the counterrevolutionary ideology and confuse them in all ideological, political, economic and social issues; to set them on the path of doubts, vacillation and degeneration; and, gradually, to set them in opposition to our society and socialist system and thus get them subsequently to carry out hostile antisocialist actions against our party and our proletarian state, against socialism and the revolution. This is why the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha draw attention to the fact that every communist and worker should reflect profoundly on what the party means when it states that "we must struggle with all our might against both the external and internal pressure of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology," which is neither imaginary nor merely potential, but acts realistically and concretely in all fields and directions.

In order to exert this pressure on our people, the imperialist and revisionist enemies have intensified and expanded their ideological diversion, making it as organized and as comprehensive as possible and utilizing for this purpose all possibilities and contacts with our country. For this purpose the enemies are making use of all travel to and from the People's Republic of Albania, the press and special publications, and radio and TV broadcasts, all of which have been increased incomparably and are incessantly pouring out poison against our country.

All this external ideological pressure, all this huge tide of alien and liberal bourgeois and revisionist influence which is hurled daily and hourly against the shores of our country and our people, becomes even more dangerous because it is also intertwined with the vestiges of the old ideologies springing from the depth of the centuries, with conservative and patriarchal manifestations, with religious prejudices and practices and with the petty-bourgeois mentality and psychology. All these forms of alien ideology, which are hostile to our Marxist-Leninist ideology, have the same class roots and therefore find support from one another and operate in a combined manner in all aspects of life.

In the context of this interaction between the external pressure and the hostile internal ideological pressure, it is necessary to discern and correctly assess "the invisible enemies," the so-called "vestiges" in the consciousness of people. These, Comrade Enver teaches us, when it comes to the enemies, are not at all vestiges but constitute in fact an ideology leading to action. They are in absolute opposition to the revolutionary ideology of the working class and, as such, they must not be underrated, nor must they be considered to be small, unimportant and harmless matters which will disappear rapidly. The danger and hostile substance of these vestiges must be considered in the same way when borne by our own people, because they represent the spring which gives rise to antisocialist attitudes and actions.

In practice, some people, including communists, proceeding from the fact that the class struggle on the ideological front is also waged among the people themselves, in everyone's consciousness, fail to discern the hostile substance of these vestiges and alien manifestations or underrate them, because they believe that the vestiges of the old ideologies are a danger more potential than real. Hence the need to discover the class and ideological roots of these manifestations, to appreciate their danger and to wage the struggle against them frontally, realistically and concretely, daily and hourly, and actively, in all their practical and philosophical manifestations. This struggle, Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, must be waged by all possible means, through education, in the schools, in the factories, in the fields, at work, in the family and in society, together with the people.

If we do this, we will defeat the enemy at every step, not permitting his corrupt seed to germinate, uprooting it as soon as it emerges. This requires that we should uncover, unmask and liquidate with high ideological vigilance and sharp political perception all the visible and invisible links and interaction between the internal and external enemies, that we should render as harmless as possible the interaction between the external and internal ideological pressure, not forgetting for one single moment that this interaction and coordination can be consolidated and can become extremely dangerous if we are careless, if we are lacking in vigilance, and if we fail to wage a resolute and incessant struggle against it. This requires intensification of the party's ideological and educational effort to instill and consolidate among all communists and workers a correct understanding of the absolute necessity of waging the class struggle frontally on the ideological front against the external and internal enemies, as well as among the people themselves and within the party itself, on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and our own revolutionary experience, against all that is alien and hinders our progress on the path of the comprehensive construction of the socialist and communist society.

Since our revolution and socialist construction are taking place on a wide front and in all main directions, the class struggle is also waged in the same way. This is the way we are waging it and this is the way our enemies are also waging it, regardless of the fact that it is being intensified at given moments in one sector more than in another. This is fully proven by the experience of the class struggle in our country in recent years.

However, the party has drawn attention to the fact that in the context of the continual development of the class struggle on a wide front and in all fields, special attention must be paid particularly to its development with regard to some fundamental and vital problems of socialist construction, such as the continual consolidation of the party's constant leading role in all spheres of the country's activity, the preservation and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the strengthening of the country's defense potential as a duty above all others, the

strengthening and consolidation of the economic, material and technical base of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the communist education and revolutionary tempering of our people, and so forth. The party has made it clear to us that our enemies are also striving to fight and harm us mainly in these directions.

Seeing that the party and its leadership constitute the major obstacle to the achievement of their counterrevolutionary aims, our enemies have directed and continue to direct their arrows primarily against the party and its Marxist-Leninist leadership, aiming to weaken and liquidate it as a Marxist-Leninist party, this being an absolute prerequisite to prepare the way for the birth of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism. This has certainly not happened and will never happen in our country, because what lies at the foundation of our party's line and activity is Marxism-Leninism, the party's theoretical thought and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings; because the party has fought and continues to fight to defend and develop Marxism-Leninism and to implement its correct line with the greatest possible precision; and because in the process of waging the class struggle within itself and among the people, the party has constantly created and consolidated a steel-like unity within its own ranks and also between the people and the party. The party's constant ideological and organizational consolidation and the constant revolutionization of its own ranks has been and continues to be a decisive prerequisite in defeating all the attempts by the enemies to achieve their aims. By strengthening the party and by increasing its vitality and leadership role in the revolution, our domestic front is thus being consolidated. As Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, nothing can happen to our socialist countries as long as the party is standing and strong as steel, vigilant and unafraid, and as long as it tempers unity continually and strikes at its enemies, the enemies of the proletarian class.

Our party and our people are daily encountering the aims and activity of our external and internal enemies to infringe on the country's freedom and independence and to weaken and overthrow our dictatorship of the proletariat. Experience has convinced us increasingly that the bourgeoisie and revisionism from abroad and the class enemies within the country itself have one and the same platform--the overthrow of the people's regime and the restoration of capitalism in Albania. To achieve this aim they are preparing and using all possible ways and means.

The savage imperialist and revisionist encirclement represents a constant danger of military aggression against our country. The development of events in the world proves that feverish war preparations are being made everywhere and by all imperialists and social imperialists, particularly by the aggressive NATO and Warsaw Pact blocs. The U.S. imperialists and Soviet social imperialists, those two most savage international gendarmes, are trying to conceal their aggressive plans, aims and activities, including those directed against our country, with demagogic slogans that "the peaceful resolution of conflicts has triumphed," that "the old enmities



have been overcome and peace has been secured in the world," that "the world is disarming," and so forth. The party and our people are watching the development of events, which are related to the imperialist and revisionist encirclement and the direct danger of military aggression, with great vigilance and have taken timely measures, constantly fulfilling at all times and in all aspects the tasks related to the country's defense.

But in preparing to meet and defeat any possible military aggression, wherever it may come from, we must also never underrate the subversive activity of the enemies, which remains one of the most bitter forms of the struggle used by the class enemies. In the present day subversion has assumed wide proportions and precedes the unleashing of predatory wars, the organizing of plots, and so forth. This can also be seen in the growing number of espionage and subversive centers, particularly those of the Soviet social imperialists and of the U.S. imperialists, the widespread dissemination of these centers and the growing number of their apparatuses, which are operating intensively against our own country as well.

Our party, state and people have successfully resisted these pressures. However, they are also resisting the favorite tactics of the enemies designed to weaken our internal front by also using other forms, especially encouragement of liberalism and bureaucracy, in the struggle waged by these very dangerous internal enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Life has confirmed that failure to resist these evils continually and with the necessary intensity causes erosion from within the state of the proletariat and leads to its degeneration and transformation into a bureaucratic and liberal state, into a state of the bourgeois brand, as in the case in the Soviet Union and elsewhere.

The preservation and unceasing reinforcement of the dictatorship of the proletariat during the whole period of transition from socialism to communism is a very important aspect of the class struggle. This can be achieved when the Marxist-Leninist teachings of our party on the dictatorship of the proletariat are strictly implemented everywhere and by everyone and when efforts are made to raise to a higher degree and perfect the activity of its various organs, to continually improve the proletarian composition of these organs and increasingly attract the masses in administering and managing state problems and affairs. Thus, by further strengthening and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, this basic weapon of the revolution in the hands of the working class, we strengthen our internal front, hinder the activity of the internal and external enemies, and increase our operational ability in the struggle against these enemies.

The external and internal enemies are also trying to harm us by economic blockade, sabotage, theft and misuse of collective socialist property. By such activities they aim to obstruct our socialist building, the development of the economy and culture, the improvement of the working masses' material and cultural well-being, as well as the reinforcement of the country's defense ability. Therefore, to strive to fulfill and overfulfill the tasks

set by the Seventh AWP Congress for the Sixth Five-Year Plan; to increase exports and reduce imports; to domestically produce spare parts, to save everywhere and in everything, and to produce high-quality goods; to protect the socialist property from damage, theft, misuse and sabotage; to learn as much as possible; to prepare as effectively as possible, physically and militarily, for defense, and so forth--all this means to have a correct judgment about the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade, to implement the principle of self-reliance, and to contribute to the further consolidation of the country's economic independence and reinforcement of our internal front.

To wage the class struggle correctly, resolutely and frontally against the external and internal enemies and in all directions, we must profoundly understand and master the Marxist-Leninist conclusion of the party and the teaching of Comrade Enver Hoxha that this struggle is objectively waged between the two roads of development: the socialist road and the capitalist one. Therefore, there is no room for any spirit whatsoever of peacefulness, complacency and liberalism in this direction. On the contrary, the edge of the class struggle should always be kept sharp, because it is our powerful weapon protecting us from the enemies, purifying us of mischief, and tempering us as proletarian revolutionaries. And we should wage this struggle consistently, always making clear the nature of the antagonistic and nonantagonistic contradictions which are the source of development, as well as the ways and methods for their just solution.

Our Workers Party has resolutely opposed and opposes all the theories of the modern revisionists, who either deny the development of the class struggle and the existence of the antagonistic contradictions after the liquidation as a class of the exploiting classes, as the Soviet and other revisionists preach, or accept, by words, the existence of the class struggle and the antagonistic contradictions in socialism but preach that they should be settled, not by using revolutionary violence, but through the method of persuasion, education and peaceful integration of capitalists into socialism. By preaching and spreading such liberal-opportunistic and pacifist-bourgeois views, the modern revisionists are trying to create a false image of socialism, to liberalize the dictatorship of the proletariat where it has been established, and to create conditions for overthrowing the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism and restoring capitalism, as is the case in the Soviet Union and other countries.

The party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, exposing the essence of the counterrevolutionary return to the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and other revisionist countries, have simultaneously stressed that the revisionists speak only verbally and for demagogic purposes about elimination of class struggle. In truth, they are waging a class struggle but in the interest of the new bourgeois class by liquidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and replacing it with the fascist dictatorship of the new revisionist bourgeoisie, using to a great extent violence, terror and fascist oppression against the working masses.

The whole history of the building of socialism in Albania is the history of an irreconcilable struggle between the two roads--the socialist road and the capitalist one--between the revolution and the counterrevolution; it is the history of the bitter struggle against the external and internal enemies. This is not limited to our country. It constitutes an indisputable law for all countries which are really building socialism and communism. This is how our party has continually handled the correct and resolute development of the class struggle, as an objective and permanent indispensability. Drawing attention to this matter under current conditions, when the imperialist-revisionist encirclement has considerably increased its pressure and aggressiveness, the party restresses that we should further increase revolutionary vigilance in the struggle against any alien manifestation and underestimating attitude toward the situations and conjunctures which arise, and we should understand these situations realistically and correctly; and, by increasing confidence in our own forces, in the vitality of the line of our party and in the strength of Marxism-Leninism, we should always be ready and totally mobilized to confront any situation.

The intensification of the imperialist-revisionist aggressiveness and pressure against our country is not an indication that the imperialists and the revisionists are strong. On the contrary, it is an indication of weakness, disintegration and decomposition of their system which, gripped in the vise of deep contradictions, spares no means to prevent social progress, the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, revolution and socialism. On the other hand, the intensification of this pressure indicates the growth and consolidation of our socialist order, the international influence and authority of the AWP and the People's Republic of Albania.

The voice of Albania, as the voice of truth, resounds strongly throughout the world. The works of Comrade Enver Hoxha and his report delivered at the Seventh AWP Congress are being studied and assimilated by true revolutionary proletarians of many countries, and they are being used as a weapon in the struggle for national and social liberation. The internationalist rallies of the Marxist-Leninist parties in Italy, the FRG and Portugal and the joint declarations of the Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin America not only showed that the Marxist-Leninist movement has strengthened and widened in the world, that Marxism-Leninism is the theory which enlightens the path of the world proletariat and that revisionism is suffering ever more defeats every day, but also showed how much the prestige and the authority of the AWP has now grown in the world.

The contribution of the AWP and of Comrade Enver Hoxha to defending and developing Marxism-Leninism in the struggle against all the distortions and theories of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists, to unmasking the efforts of the two superpowers for world domination and hegemony, and to supporting the proletariat and the revolutionary and liberation forces of all the countries struggling against the bourgeois-revisionist, imperialist and social imperialist oppression and exploitation is evidence of the AWP's honorable discharge of its international duties. As a result of this, the

affection and respect which the AWP, led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, and socialist Albania enjoy among all the true revolutionary and progressive forces of the world are ever increasing.

The resistance to and the defeat of all the pressures exerted by the external and internal enemies, the successful building of socialism, the reinforcement of the fatherland's defense, as well as the splendid prospects opened up by the Seventh AWP Congress have increased the enthusiasm and revolutionary optimism of communists and workers, their confidence in the secure future, and are inspiring them to new and even greater victories. However, as the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have advised, the successes should not lead to euphoria and political underestimation and indifference toward the pressure exerted by the external and internal class enemy. The working class and the working masses, all the opinion of the country, should, under the guidance of the party, always be alert to wage the class struggle, create an ironlike front against the united front of the external and internal enemies, and secure our uninterrupted march on the road of socialism and communism.

CSO: 2100

ALBANIA

PARTY DAILY STRESSES NATIONAL CHARACTER OF LITERATURE, ARTS

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 10 Sep 77 p 1 AU

[Editorial: "The Consolidation of the National Character--a Constant Task for the Workers of Literature and the Arts"]

[Excerpts] The new political, ideological, and economic conditions that have been and are being created in our country during the party's era have also strongly influenced the enrichment and evolution of the national traits of our people.

Under present conditions, when the imperialists and social imperialists are striving to achieve their aims of political, economic and spiritual domination of the peoples, the preservation and consolidation of the national character of culture, literature and the arts constitute a vital problem whose influence is felt not only in the artistic and esthetic field but also in the political field. The party has stressed that the disappearance of the cultural traditions of smaller countries, the disappearance of their national characteristics and culture, constitutes one of the main aspects of the efforts to achieve cultural aggression.

Guided by the party's teachings, the writers and artists have opposed the cosmopolitan theses and viewpoints which deny the national character of art, and at the same time they have opposed those schematic and conservative attitudes which deny what is new, that is, the socialist national tradition that is being created and those new elements that emerge as a result of the country's socialist construction.

The demand that art and literature reflect the new national traits, in close combination with the socialist substance, in no way denies the role of the historical theme in strengthening the national character. When history is analyzed from the positions of our world outlook and is placed in the service of the present, without distorting historical truth, this helps to portray the national traits as they emerged and developed. Many works based on historical themes that have been created in recent years tackle the idea of the resistance and vitality of our people in various

periods. It is good that in addition to the valor and resistance of our people in battle, their daily efforts to preserve their mother tongue, folklore, customs and so forth are also reflected in these works. Two important conceptual aims are thus achieved: First, through historical analogies, the present concern for preserving and strengthening our socialist culture in opposition to the expansionist and assimilating intentions of the imperialists and social imperialists is echoed; and second, the working masses are reflected in all their spiritual magnificence. Greater care should be shown for this second aspect, because there have been works in which, in order to dramatize the misery, the representatives of the working masses have been portrayed as spiritually poor and lacking in a sense of dignity and rebellion, while other works have distorted aspects of the history of our people.

Guided by the party's and Comrade Enver's teachings, discussions have been held in recent years on various issues concerning the national character. These discussions have centered mainly on general theoretical problems. It is essential that the thrashing out of these issues should take place simultaneously with the study of our literary and artistic experience; the critics should uncover in a concrete manner the national character in the people, heroes and situations portrayed, as well as in the style and language. This is what the theoretical conclusions should be based on and generalizations made. Naturally, all this cannot be achieved without profoundly studying and mastering the teachings of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, as well as the party's and Comrade Enver's teachings concerning the problems of the nation and of the national character.

CSO: 2100

## ALBANIA

### BRIEFS

CHINESE MUSICIANS IN TIRANA -- The folk instruments orchestra of the radio of the People's Republic of China, invited to Albania by the Ministry of Education and Culture and the General Directorate of Albanian Radio and Television, gave performances for the Tirana public in the hall of the Opera and Ballet Theater. The musicians in the Chinese ensemble made a fruitful effort to transmit to the spectator the content of various instrumental pieces, a content which is connected with the long struggle of the Chinese people for the liberation of the country and the triumph of the people's revolution, with their work and efforts to build socialism, with the feelings and emotions which the beautiful Chinese nature arouses. The program included two or three creations of our composers. The interpretation and execution of these compositions with warmth and feeling illustrated the feeling of friendship on the part of the Chinese people for our people and for the rich culture of our people. The warm reception which the art-loving people of Tirana gave to the two performances of the orchestra expresses the appreciation of our people for the significant achievements in art of the talented Chinese people and embodies the feeling of revolutionary friendship between the two peoples.  
[Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 24 Aug 77 p 3]

CSO: 2100

## BULGARIA

### UKASE ON CRITICAL REPORTS DISSEMINATED BY NEWS MEDIA

Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 19 Jul 77 pp 625-626

[Ukase No 1086 on work with critical publications passed by the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic]

[Text] In accordance with Article 94, point 2, paragraph 2, of the Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic promulgates the following

Ukase

No 1086

On Work with Critical Publications

Chapter 1

General Stipulations

Article 1. Critical publications in mass information media contribute to the successful implementation of government policy, the increased participation of the working people in administration, the exposure and elimination of weaknesses and violations in the activities of the state organs and economic and public organizations, and the assertion of socialist legality and the socialist way of life.

Article 2. Critical publications must be preceded by investigations. They must be objective, principled and timely.

Article 3. Critical publications may not adopt a basic stand on judicial matters prior to the enactment of a judicial act.

Article 4. State organs and economic and public organizations shall study promptly critical publications applying to their activities and take measures to eliminate weaknesses and violations.



Article 5. Working with critical publications state organs and economic and public organizations shall expose and eliminate the reasons which trigger weaknesses and violations and hinder the improvement of the effectiveness and quality of their work.

## Chapter 2

### Organization of the Work with Critical Publications

Article 6. (1) The mass information media shall send critical publications or detailed information concerning them to the ministries and other departments, establishments, organizations and people's councils to which they apply.

(2) Should critical publications contain data related to the commission of a crime, said publications or information on them shall be sent to the respective procuracy as well.

Article 7. (1) Ministries and other departments, establishments, organizations and people's councils shall keep a record on received critical publications or information pertaining to them.

(2) Such records shall be kept by the organs handling complaints, reports, and suggestions or, should such organs be unavailable, by another authority or official appointed by the manager.

(3) The organs as per paragraph 1 shall keep a record both of critical publications pertaining to their work as well as of publications pertaining to the work of subordinate establishments, organizations, subunits, and teams.

Article 8. Recorded critical publications shall be considered active until related decisions have been implemented and established weaknesses and violations eliminated.

Article 9. (1) Ministers and heads of other departments, establishments, and organizations, as well as chairmen of executive committees of people's councils shall inform the editors of their views on the materials and on measures taken to eliminate weaknesses and violations no less than 1 month after receiving the critical publication or the information related to it.

(2) Should a lengthier investigation become necessary or should it be required by other important reasons, the view of the manager as per the preceding paragraph may be reported within no more than 2 months. The editors shall be informed of this fact prior to the lapse of the 1 month deadline.

Article 10. (1) If no answer is provided within the stipulated deadline or should the received answer be considered unsatisfactory or groundless,

the manager of the editorial board shall report the fact to the immediate superior who must inform the editors of the adopted measures within 1 month.

(2) Should the received answer refute published data or claims, following the request of the editors the superior organ shall participate in the determination of the truth.

Article 11. The mass information media shall print or report information on the results of critical publications.

Article 12. (1) Departments, establishments, organizations, officials and citizens have the right to refute critical publications based on erroneous data.

(2) Investigations based on such refutation requests shall be conducted by the editors with the participation of a representative of the department, establishment, or organization appointed by the respective manager.

(3) Should it be established that a critical publication was based on erroneous data, the managers of editorial boards shall insure the timely publication or announcement of the refutation through the mass information medium which published or broadcast the critical publication.

(4) Individuals guilty of the submission of erroneous data shall be punished in accordance with the law.

Article 13. The state organs and economic and public organizations must help the editors in the conduct of investigations and in organizing the reception of citizens.

### Chapter 3

#### Management and Control

Article 14. Ministers, heads of other departments, establishments and organizations, and chairmen of executive committees of people's councils shall be responsible for the overall work with critical publications and for the elimination of weaknesses and violations noted in them.

Article 15. The management of ministries and of other departments, establishments, and organizations, and the executive committees of okrug people's councils shall consider information on critical publications pertaining to organs within their system no less than once every 3 months and shall take measures to improve work with critical publications and for the elimination of the weaknesses of violations they indicate.

Article 16. (1) No less than once every 6 months the Committee on Culture and the Union of Bulgarian Journalists shall submit to the Council

of Ministers information on critical publications carried by the central mass information media and on the attitude toward such publications displayed by the affected organs and organizations.

(2) The Council of Ministers shall review such information and make decisions on it.

Article 17. (1) The Committee for State and People's Control shall exercise overall control over the work with critical publications.

(2) The organs of the Committee for State and People's Control shall systematically study critical publications pertaining to the work of state organs and economic and public organizations. They shall conduct the necessary investigations and take measures for the elimination of noted weaknesses and violations.

Article 18. The organs of the procuracy shall systematically study critical publications and, should data on a committed crime be contained, take measures for the launching of a preliminary investigation.

#### Chapter 4

##### Administrative Penal Stipulations

Article 19. (1) A manager who fails to answer a critical publication within the allotted time without legitimate reasons shall be fined from 20 to 100 leva.

(2) The penalty for a second violation shall be a fine from 50 to 200 leva with public reprimand.

Article 20. (1) An official who hinders a member of a mass information medium in the conduct of an investigation, refuses cooperation or provides erroneous information shall be fined from 20 to 200 leva unless a more severe penalty is called for.

(2) The same penalty shall be imposed on any official who persecutes any one on the subject of a critical publication, supply of information, or give other assistance in connection with such a publication.

(3) The penalty for a second violation as per the preceding paragraphs shall be a fine from 50 to 200 leva and public reprimand.

Article 21. (1) The manager of the mass information medium who fails to insure the timely publication or broadcasting of a refutation as per Article 12 shall be fined from 20 to 100 leva.

(2) The fine for a second violation shall range from 50 to 200 leva with public reprimand.

Article 22. Anyone who fails to fulfill any other obligation based on this ukase or on the law governing its application shall be fined no more than 20 leva.

Article 23. (1) Legal documents certifying to violations shall be drafted by the state and people's control organs while penal decrees shall be issued by the chairmen of the respective committees for state and people's control.

(2) The establishment of violations and the promulgation, appeal and execution of penal decrees shall be based on the procedure stipulated in the Law on Administrative Violations and Penalties.

#### Additional Stipulations

§1. The following words and terms have been used in this ukase as having the following meaning:

1. "Critical publications" are all materials published or broadcast by mass information media indicating weaknesses or violations in the work of state organs and economic and public organizations or in the behavior of officials or private citizens;

2. The term "mass information media" shall include the Bulgarian Telegraph Agency and the newspapers, periodicals, the radio, television, and documentary motion pictures;

3. A "repeated" violation shall be a violation committed within 1 year of the enactment of the penal decree with which the violator has been penalized for the same type of violation.

§2. The stipulations of the ukase shall apply only to public organizations in charge of implementing state functions and only to critical publications pertaining to their activities related to the implementation of such functions.

#### Concluding Stipulations

§3. The present ukase shall be enacted 1 month following its publication in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK.

§4. The implementation of this ukase shall be assigned to the Committee for State and People's Control and the Committee on Culture.

Issued in Sofia on 12 July 1977 and sealed with the state seal.

Chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic: T. Zhikov.

Secretary of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic:  
N. Manolov.

## EAST GERMANY

### KRENZ REVIEWS HONECKER ANTHOLOGY ON SED'S YOUTH POLICY

[Editorial report AU] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 3-4 September 1977, p 10, carries a 2,700-word review by Egon Krenz of an anthology of Erich Honecker's works, entitled "Erich Honecker: On the SED's Youth Policy."

After quoting extensively from various articles, speeches and pamphlets on the SED's youth policy written or delivered by Honecker, Krenz points out: "It is extremely interesting for the reader to watch how in Comrade Honecker's activity the findings of his many years of practical activity in the Communist Youth Federation of Germany merge with the experiences from youth's activities in building the socialist society into a Marxist-Leninist treasury of experiences which is distinguished by profundity of ideas and closeness to life. Again and again the reader of the speeches, articles and essays is confronted with a great understanding of the problems of youth and of all working people. Again and again the great respect for the working man, the precise knowledge of life and the great attention to practical experiences are evident. Again and again the aspiration to be closely linked with the working peoples' masses appears."

After quoting from a Honecker lecture in March 1954 and from his speech at the Tenth FDY Parliament on 4 June 1976, Krenz continues: "The idea of proletarian internationalism and anti-imperialist solidarity runs through the testimonies of the time compiled in this book. Every line of the book shows how the friendship with the Soviet Union has become close to the hearts of our people. Comrade Erich Honecker holds a vast personal share in developing the fraternal cooperation between the FDY and the Leninist Komsomol. The FDY delegation led by him to the Soviet Union in the summer of 1947 opened up a new page in the history of this friendship with its 'peace flight to the East.'"

Krenz concludes the review praising the Soviet Komsomol and its deeds and recommending the book which "enriches our knowledge of ourselves and stresses to what extent the history of the GDR is also the history of the Socialist Youth Federation."

## EAST GERMANY

### BRIEFS

KOREAN FROM FRG ARRESTED--Hyon-cha Franke, arrested in Jena in 1975 together with her husband Volker Franke and sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment for alleged espionage, is fatally ill as reported by prisoners recently released from GDR prisons. Mrs Franke, born in Korea on 29 August 1950, is imprisoned on the 5th floor of the women's penitentiary of Bautzen II and suffers from ulcers and ensuant stomach bleeding, an illness which former inmates attribute to the poor care in the Bautzen Penitentiary. So far the Federal Republic's permanent representation in East Berlin has been refused permission to visit the prisoner. The GDR authorities arguing that Mrs Franke is a Korean national and, hence, not the responsibility of the GAUS office. According to the West Berlin Junge Union Organization, with which Volker Franke is affiliated, Mrs Franke is a [West] German citizen. [Bonn DIE WELT in German 20 Sep 77 p 4 DW]

KRENZ WELCOMES FRG YOUTH DELEGATION--Berlin--A delegation from the Federal Executive of the FRG's Socialist German Working Class Youth [SDAJ] led by Federal Chairman Wolfgang Gehrcke arrived in Berlin today on an official friendship visit at the invitation of the secretariat of the Central Council of the GDR Youth Organization, FDJ. The representatives of the socialist working class youth organization of the FRG were cordially welcomed by Egon Krenz, first secretary of the FDJ Central Council and candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, and by Wolfgang Herger, member of the SED Central Committee. In addition the secretariat of the Central Council met the SDAJ delegation for a friendly talk. They exchanged views on topical questions of international youth policy as well as on both organizations' preparations for the 11th World Festival being held in Cuba in 1978. The talks passed off in a friendly and cordial atmosphere. The guests from the FRG will be acquainting themselves with the FDJ's work in the bezirks of Halle, Dresden, Karl-Marx/Stadt and also the capital, Berlin. [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1830 GMT 11 Sep 77 LD]

CSO: 2300

WORKERS, TRADE UNIONS TO EXERCISE GREATER ROLE IN MANAGEMENT

Budapest SZAKSZERVEZETI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 3, 1977 pp 3-18

[Article by Sandor Gaspar: "Socialist Democracy, Plant Democracy"]

[Text] The concept of democracy is in the center of interest nowadays everywhere in the world. Personages dealing with politics, party and government leaders, and those who work in national and international movements and in social sciences frequently refer to it, discuss it, explain and isolate it in the most varied ways. We may also say that it is in universal fashion to refer to democracy, but let us add that this is in no way a passing style, in fact, it is a social and political necessity. This concept — and its frequent practice — indicates that in our era no one can leave out of account the views of the working masses. Today, Marx's perception that the working masses make history has extended to the whole world. This perception will extend in even broader scope, and will at the same time be ideologically clarified.

The Meaning and Essence of Democracy

To realize the interests of his class, the bourgeois politician calls on democracy, and the worker also carries on his struggle using the slogan of democracy.

Lenin taught us that democracy is not independent of space and time. Always and everywhere it had and has a class content. Therefore democracy — and this refers to existing democracy of every rank and order — is in our times the mode, the institutional system for exercising power. There is no democracy that stands above the classes, above class interests, and only he speaks of such democracy who has an interest in obfuscation and misleading the workers.

We are realizing socialist democracy, which is the institutional system of the workers' power, and therefore it differs essentially from bourgeois democracy, which represents the interests of the bourgeoisie and expresses their class interests.

The worker, the working man does not arrive, of course, at socialist democracy like to a new suit of clothes which he purchases after trying it on, or he has one made for himself and then he wears it. Socialist democracy is not a ready-made finished condition, but a developing process, and in fact a process which

is closely linked to the development of the entire society; its content, extent and level depend on the economic state of development, on the state of development in political and consciousness relations; but it is also linked to the past and to historical traditions.

When we emphasize the differences between bourgeois and socialist democracy, we do not deny and we do not reject the positive achievements of bourgeois democracy, which in the final analysis came about as a result of the struggles of the oppressed classes.

Whoever is familiar with the nowadays frequently voiced UN accord on human rights — which the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic also enacted last year in a valid decree — can perceive that our constitution contains all these rights. Then what is the difference between bourgeois and socialist democracy?

The most essential and fundamental difference is in the class content of the two social forms and the two different kinds of democracy, and the other differences derive therefrom. That is, the socialist system not only proclaims democratism but also assures the necessary conditions — not only for a narrow strata but for all society — for the exercise of human rights. We could add the right to work, the right to recreation, health protection, education, and other rights which up to now in reality only the socialist system has been able to assure the working masses.

Or let us take for example the freedom of organization, or the right of expressing views. Which bourgeois democracy can require the capitalists completely to assure the conditions necessary for the factory operation of the trade unions, beginning from the maintenance of premises to the holding of factory programs? What Western democracy makes an effort to have the views of the workers realized at the place of work, the place of residence as in the case of the socialist system — and with which we are still not satisfied? What system can fully assure the worker's, the working man's security of existence, social security, and that the worker's living standards should rise regularly depending on the material situation of the system and its economic achievements? What system can guarantee the secure future of the children and the young? What system can raise respect for work and the worker to a social rank? Only socialism!

We could go on with a substantive comparison and we could do so with confidence because we would not be shamed. Of course, there are some so-called freedom rights which a socialist social system cannot accept. This is the right of private enterprise, of exploitation. Not only must it reject this, but it must fight it with all its means.

We do not support any kind of asceticism or egalitarianism, we know that the value of men's work is not the same, and therefore incomes are also differentiated. Workers who achieve outstanding results in work and creativity receive significant income. Our society makes it possible for citizens to devote incomes acquired by honorable work to the development of their personal welfare; they can buy a home, automobile, build a summer home, and travel



at home and abroad. But even income obtained through honorable work cannot be used for speculation, for the acquisition of income without work.

The "scientists" and "preachers" of democracy demand political pluralism of us. A system of society where the basic economic interests of the classes and different layers of society are irreconcilably opposed can undoubtedly only be pluralized. In our society, precisely because of the socialist revolution, we have only working classes and social layers, and there are no irreconcilable stresses among them. Therefore, no matter who raises the demand for political pluralism, it is illogical and irrational as far as Hungary is concerned.

Naturally, we know that in our society, too, temporary conflicts of interests can develop. But these contradictions can be discovered, and since they are not irreconcilable on a socialist soil, they can in general be regularly resolved to help strengthen and develop socialism.

Our system is built democratically from the bottom up. The membership elects secretly the leading bodies of the party, the trade union, the KISZ [Communist Youth League], and so forth. We elect the central and local bodies of the state democratically, as well as the National Assembly and the local councils. Naturally, the principles of centralism are also realized in the activities of these organs, for how could an elected body lead if its decisions and resolutions were not binding on the members who elected them? Therefore, when we speak of the development of our political system, we at the same time emphasize increasing the effectiveness of central guidance and the necessity also for intensified development of local independence and methods of democratic guidance.

In the area of developing democratism in the indirect or representational system, without which a modern society cannot exist, we solve tasks like, for example, the further perfection of the election system, development of parliamentary activity, and so forth. In actuality, we realize our effort to increase the dependence of these bodies and their members — the representatives and council members — on the voters. What we want is to have society, on one hand, follow their work with attention, give help, and on the other hand continuously control them. As for the elected members and bodies, we want them to work and manage their affairs in such a way that it will be perceptibly clear that they are not ruling over the people but serving them.

The statement that a socialist society cannot come into being and develop spontaneously and instinctively; that it needs the consciously leading role of the party, the organizational, educational and guiding activity of the state, the realization of the dual role of trade unions contains a very important truth. However, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory and the experiences of societies that are building socialism — more loosely, the entire international workers' movement — we must extend this truth with another statement, namely, that the creation and development of socialism assumes the active, initiative-taking and increasingly more conscious participation of the working classes, above all, the workers' class in the socialist revolution and in the

building of socialism. Of course, this is not limited to productive activity, but extends to the development of social relations in all aspects.

The socialist-communist society is not some kind of abstract formula or an idealistic goal fabricated at the writing desk by some "scientific men" — the idealistic concept is far from Marxism — but it is a socio-economic contour in which the means of production are in social ownership, and the members of society enjoy full social equality; the workers, the population are free and increasingly more conscious; the forces of production develop at a rapid rate; and people endeavor to work rather by expressing their best capabilities. A socialist society, therefore, is the result of the active struggle of the working masses, of their work, their creative activity, and their actual mass movement.

One of the main contradictions of capitalism is that different persons make up labor, the owners of the means of production, and the owners of the other conditions of production. This contradiction cannot be resolved within capitalism itself, no matter what level may be reached by the the right of the workers to express views, if realized at all. Only the socialist social system is able to eliminate this contradiction by taking the means of production into social ownership, by virtue of which the working class at the same time becomes the owner of the means of production.

#### The Basis of Socialist Democracy

The basis of socialist democracy, therefore, is social ownership of the productive means; that is, the citizens in Hungary, as the real and actual owners of the country, may take part directly — and through their elected representatives indirectly — in increasingly greater numbers and to an increasing extent in the politics of the country, and in the management and decisions involving the affairs of their site of residence, factory and cooperative.

Work place and factory democracy, which is an organic part, a special area, of the system of socialist democracy, means, among other things that the workers, as the owners of the socialized means of production, may participate in production and management in a responsible and worthy way within institutionalized forms and limits, as well as in controlling the activities of the leaders.

Factory democracy has great traditions in our country. In the years following the liberation to the years of the turn (1945-1948), and to the take-over of power, the workers participated in leadership through factory committees. Frequently they directly managed the enterprises themselves. Then with the filtering of our historical experiences, a situation developed in which the trade unions became the representational organs of factory democracy.

The spreading of socialist democracy in the factories is one of the conditions and a basic requirement for the building of socialism in the factories. In Hungary since 1956 we have overcome to an ever increasing extent such methods of centralized exercise of power as always come to the fore in societies which

have not as yet solidified their social and economic structure. The division of labor among government, party and trade unions is becoming increasingly better defined.

We are living in a free country for more than 30 years. The greater part of the Hungarian working class was reared in the period of a socialist society. Thus its political and cultural maturity and its interest in public affairs have advanced to a great degree. This is an inestimable advantage, because we are faced today with solving such complicated tasks that we can make the correct decisions only by relying on public opinion. The views of the work place are formed by the totality of the workers' views and their proposals. The workers expect, by exercising their rights, to participate in the management, guidance and control of production. Today the more important and conscious part of the workers does not rest satisfied with a mechanical role in execution, but only with an unexceptionable performance of work. As a result of their proprietary character, they want to take a responsible part in shaping resolutions and measures, and in making decisions.

In socialism, there is need even under social ownership relations, for a guiding apparatus, which differs from execution — although only in respect to work specialization. A separate guiding activity based and founded on work specialization is a social necessity. Marx conceives this graphically in his main work "Capital" when he writes that a single violin guides itself in playing. But a large, assembled symphony orchestra cannot dispense with a director. Thus it belongs to the abc's of Marxism that the workers in a large, complicated and combined production system cannot work successfully without expert leadership and guidance even in socialism. This leadership does not rule over us but, like a good orchestra director, organizes and coordinates the activities of the various parts and creates harmony in the whole operation of the complicated organization.

The relation of subordination and authority deriving from work specialization, which under capitalism also expresses origin, property and rank differences, expresses under socialism merely work specialization among the owners of the means of production. While under capitalism the subordinate is at the mercy of his superior, under socialism the enterprise leadership and the enterprise collective are partners of equal rank.

The existence and necessity of a guiding apparatus differentiated on the basis of work specialization does not exclude or make superfluous the participation of the workers in the executive share of the producers in guidance. On the contrary, this is the basic element, the indispensable conditions of the workers' power, of socialist democracy. The forms of realization are many, beginning with factory production discussions to the participatory right of the trade union in various enterprise affairs.

Since state and jurisprudence have existed, every society lives and develops on the basis of laws and decrees. But laws and decrees have a class character in capitalism and in socialist society. In a socialist society, guidance by way of laws and decrees is organically supplemented by a system of

democratic representation, which assures and develops the socialist character of leadership. This duality is also realized in factory life.

In a socialist society, the tasks facing the economy are solved by state and social means. The guidance of production activity requires individual, responsible leadership. This means that the leader appointed by the state is responsible to the state and the collective under his guidance alike. At the same time, the responsibility of the local party organs is realized in the leadership of the enterprise, as well as the independence of the trade unions and the participation of the workers in decision making. Thus the enterprise collective participates in deciding all basic questions. In this way, individual responsibility and plant democracy are realized by complementing each other.

The enterprises are not only production units but also social and political units, and in this respect the opportunities afforded by plant democracy are broader. The workers not only can make proposals but can participate directly in preparing the decisions, and in fact, they decide many questions directly or through their representatives. And this does not reduce the importance of economic leadership, its responsibility and effectiveness. On the contrary. Our experiences show that where factory democracy is working soundly, not only production becomes more efficient but also the relationship of leaders and subordinates also becomes more direct and substantive.

Unfortunately, we have not reached a point where the proprietary nature is obvious and natural to every worker. This is a slower process than we thought, and in this regard it is not easy to overcome a whole series of erroneous views and backward attitudes.

Factory democracy assumes an atmosphere in which there is a good relationship between leaders and subordinates, where the worker may express an opinion, explain his proposals and ideas for a more economic and rational solution of the work, and may also demand a worthy reply. Naturally, a great deal depends on the leader. That leader acts correctly who recognizes this rich resource, and therefore he discusses his plans with the workers, shares his concerns, and counts on their opinions and cooperation. All this multiplies the strength of the enterprise's economic leaders and reduces the possibilities of mistakes and errors in the work. In fact, it extends protection to himself if he correctly represents the interests of society and he is capable of having the workers of the factory accept his positions.

Common actions require common controls. It is the common interest of every subordinate and leader to achieve more in management, production and office work because this is the basis of an increase in revenues, moral recognition, improvement of working conditions, and development of social and cultural provisions.

The initiative and creativity, therefore, of workers directly participating in productive work may and must be linked with the principle of responsible, individual leadership, as well as with the requirements of management science.

Economic leaders cannot be excused from responsibility for educating and elevating people. The relationship of leaders and subordinates is an element of the workers' power in which the essence of our society is reflected. In Hungary, it is only possible to lead through competence, ideological firmness, humaneness, a human, collegial example, and a constant sense of responsibility for the working class. Today there is an increasing number of economic leaders who deal with the workers on the basis of correct principles, who listen to the advice and observations of the workers and the worker collectives which cannot be replaced by anything else.

For the economic leader, factory democracy is not only a work style or courtesy but also an essential part of the management capability of the socialist leader. The socialist character of human relations, socialist humanism, respect for human dignity are basic requirements of our system.

Requirements for the development of factory democracy exist which cannot be neglected or avoided. This is primarily that the workers must understand the tasks and problems of their factories. The economic leaders, the party organizations, the trade unions, and the KISZ are capable of keeping the workers informed and engaging in discussions with them as to what is to be done. A good framework for this is the production conference, etc. Thus the framework is given, but the substantive level of the information, its depth and differentiation still leave much to be desired. But the goals, the inter-relationships, the possibilities, and an understanding of the requirements are conditions for a worthy discussion of the problems.

#### Activity - Discipline

The building of socialism has one condition, the importance of which we cannot overrate in our system: the social-production activity of the workers. From where does the activity come? It is difficult to find appropriate words, difficult because this expresses the affirmation of socialism, the readiness of the working class to act, trust in and agree with our party's policy. The work elan has such stations as are immortalized on the finest pages of our country's development.

What does the activity depend on? How can it be further increased? How could we use in an enhanced way the stimulating and personality-shaping strength of production? There are many more questions. The answer is simple and complicated because it is latent in the development of socialist democracy.

For the worker, the work place, the factory and the enterprise are more than an opportunity for earnings. The working man takes his concerns home, and there too he is occupied with problems of the factory and enterprise. It is an essential feature of the socialist system that it develops and expands in people the will power which appears in activity, in the management of common affairs, and in common life activity.

Have we solved this in Hungary? Have we removed all obstacles to the development of activity? No, we still cannot say this.

Naturally, the question rises how a working man, a worker can concern himself with common affairs if he does not understand them, or does so only formally. How can we expect greater activity from the workers if we do not share problems with them, if we do not make the tasks known to them?

In order that every worker should be able to do his task well, we must assure good work organization, a smooth material supply, and planned technical development.

In the present phase of our development — and because of the situation which has developed in the world economy — the tasks have become more complex and complicated and their solution calls for us to strive in a more organized and deliberate way to surface inner reserves. One of the basic conditions and means to this end can be the further modernization of socialist work competition.

The work competition movement has been an important source of our achievements, and nowadays it has a still greater role in making our goals a common affair, a concern of the working masses. It is not by chance, therefore, that at the end of 1976 the Political Committee put on the agenda a review of the work going on in this area, in the course of which it defined the main directions of the work competition evaluation system, the grading of competition results, and the further development of material and moral recognition.

In fulfilling the tasks facing the economy, we are counting and building above all on the basic units of determinative importance in socialist competition, the socialist brigades. The participants in the socialist brigade movement have contributed most of all up to now to the attainment of our goals. The socialist brigades were the social basis of work competition in the past, and will remain so. This is also shown by the numerical and substantive development of the movement in the past period. The objective and subjective conditions of further development are given, and therefore the results can be multiplied.

The task of enterprise trade union organs is to assure the further development of democratism in the work competition movement, the preservation of its voluntary character, the appropriate flow of information, and openness.

Socialist contracts, the voluntary undertakings by workers contribute significantly to a deeper understanding by the workers and the collectives of how under our relations tasks are common and interdependent. The essence of the competition is that every person by giving the best of his knowledge should promote economic development at the place where he works and with his initiatives support the most successful execution of common tasks.

In Hungary, the trade unions participate in making the plan goals and in shaping a system of moral and material recognition in harmony with work place

programs and meeting the requirements of economic efficiency. They are also initiating broad-scale use of special awards tied to the solution of concrete production and economic tasks. In conjunction with the economic leadership, the trade union organs will promote distribution by the collectives of awards they have won differentiated according to work performed, using their democratic rights in their own sphere of authority.

Factory democracy must be realized not only at single forums, or in single opportunities, but also in the everyday relation of the leadership and workers. We have need for common thinking and action. This will be promoted if the thinking by the leaders is supplemented by the experiences of the workers. The full, disciplined carrying out of such decisions and resolutions arrived at in this way is of course obligatory. The principle therefore is: democracy in preparation, discipline in execution. Naturally, democratic elements cannot be excluded from executive work. On the contrary, we must stimulate and encourage the workers to search for and propose the best methods of execution. They should call attention to difficulties in ample time and help in overcoming them. It will become clear during the execution whether the decision was correct and good, whether it met prior notions.

Democracy and discipline are not mutually exclusive concepts but rather concepts reciprocally assuming each other. Where socialist democracy is being strengthened, discipline also improves. We well know — Lenin called attention to it — that the establishment and strengthening of socialist work discipline is one of the most difficult tasks. And still we must find a solution because it is a problem of key importance not only to ending present problems but attaining future goals. Without discipline and the fulfillment of obligations, democracy remains an empty word.

Without the organic unity of democracy and rights, democracy is worth nothing. It is characteristic of our democracy that we carry out our obligations honorably and exercise our rights correctly. We do this when we accept responsibility in the production of goods, and we fulfill our obligations and exercise our rights also in participating in distribution. This is not an easy task, for even with one enterprise — in a varying degree and measure — the interests of the various strata and individuals are divergent.

Thus we must also perform the task of ranking and coordinating interests. At factory democracy forums we must also attend to this function, making possible the confrontation of interests, and we must also find the most purposeful methods for resolving the interest contradictions which crop up from time to time.

#### The Growing Role of Trade Unions

In Hungary, workers who live on wages and payments enjoy every result of work, but if the development is not adequate, if there are problems with management and production, if exception can be taken to work and discipline, then they also feel the effects of its disadvantages. The trade unions are well aware

that it is only possible to distribute what we have produced. In socialism, production assures a greater income for more work, better social provisions, and higher pensions. The results of production have made it possible, for example, to reduce, working time, to develop cultural, educational and health facilities, to develop the country's defense, and to fulfill international obligations. Under circumstances brought on by the power of the working classes, the trade unions — characteristically and not without contradictions — have become, in economy and production, the organs of a democracy being realized. The activity of the trade unions and the operation of the various trade union forums and organs offer the workers, on one hand, direct opportunity and an organizational framework for public life, that is, for participating in management leadership and administration; on the other hand, the trade union organs, as representatives of all workers, are at the same time the representative institutions of factory democracy which represent at every level of economic leadership, according to their calling, all workers.

Lenin pointed to the role and basic functions of the trade unions in socialism. The statement that the trade unions are the schools of communism is still definitive for us. They organize and rally the workers, teach them in management, administration and control. Lenin also warned us that there is a need for the interest protection activity of the trade unions after the means of production are taken into social ownership, that is, under socialism as well. Historical development in Hungary has confirmed the correctness of these teachings and their timeliness.

Lenin attributed great importance to the full development of workers' democracy in the trade unions.

To discuss every essential question with the workers, he said, is the basis and condition for the development of activity. In the role and everyday activity of the trade unions, Lenin realized the Marxist teaching that the masses should take an active part in setting and realizing their historical goals. Socialism, according to Lenin's thinking, requires the direct participation and effective representation of the majority of workers in management, administration and the guidance of public life.

The party's Political Committee desired to obtain validity for these Leninist principles when it determined that the trade unions have basically two sides to their activities. On one hand, it organizes and educates the workers in defense of our society, the political and economic results of the power of the working class, and increasing their strength. On the other hand, the workers defend the rights assured them in laws and decrees, and they represent and guard their long-range and everyday interests. These dual functions are attended to by the trade unions at a higher and higher level, and they seek further to perfect their work. They try to raise the activity of the workers, their sense of responsibility in production and economic problems, they embrace and support the various workers' movements, the substantive development of socialist work competition, and with this they fulfill at the same time their mission of interest representation and interest protection.



Our laws have vested in the trade unions the representation of workers' rights in very essential questions.

The economic leaders are obligated to seek out the views of the trade unions in all questions touching on the living and working conditions of the workers. It is possible that the decision will go against them, but the reasons, in this case as well, must be given to the trade unions. In many cases, the law refers questions affecting workers to the trade union right of concurrence; there are some questions where the trade unions have the right to decide.

The trade union bodies not only have the opportunity to use their rights, but this is also their obligation which if they neglect they are despoiling the workers of their rights of realizing their broad-scale rights as laid down in law. For this very reason, the state and economic leaders are obligated to respect trade union rights.

The further strengthening of social work in carrying out movement tasks is awaiting fulfillment; this is something for which the trade unions have already striven. It is also a requirement that the membership should have an increasing part in the work of the leading organs, in decision making, and thereby bring about a closer relationship between the trade union leadership and the membership. The common work assures that the demands and endeavors will be realistically taken into account, the mode of thinking and the attitude of the membership will be more fundamentally understood, and the capability for initiative and consciousness will be developed.

The institutionalized forums will have an important role in the exercise of factory democracy. This by no means signifies that factory democracy is some kind of holiday dress which is to be worn at forums and meetings but on gray week days can be hidden in the clothes closet. Factory democracy can be realized — must be realized — in everyday life. But important problems must be taken before definite forums.

In shaping decisions and resolutions affecting the enterprise, the factory level and the entire collective, the workers participation in management guidance and control can be realized by way of representative organs. The organizational framework for this is given by the elected leadership bodies of the trade union. The production discussions, work conferences, the brigade and group conferences afford opportunity for direct participation in the management problems of the work place.

The enterprise collective contract has a large role in the activities of forums. The collective contract, in addition to exploiting the possibilities latent in local regulation, results in a new development of factory democracy. It gives the workers an opportunity to participate in shaping their own destiny.

It is inconceivable that a collective contract should be signed without a broad-scale discussion. The essence of a discussion like this is the coordination of varying interests. This imposes a great responsibility on the local

trade union organs, which must know exactly and basically the problems of the individual work shops, the occupations, groups, or workers in a special situation. Naturally, they must also know the economic, financial and material possibilities for solving the problems. The trade unions, as representational and interest-protecting organs must take a position and defend the workers' interests by including the workers and listening to them, and by weighing social, enterprise, and the above-mentioned group interests. This is how the desired political result will be attained, that the enterprise and factory workers will feel they have directly participated in shaping their own destiny, in regulating their living circumstances, and that their wages are paid in accordance with given possibilities, as well as their profit shares based on profitability, allowances in addition to wages, and their health and cultural provisions. All this will result in a good atmosphere, the development of a socialist way of thinking, a better work spirit, and purposefully performed, economic work.

Thus the factory collective contract is an organic part of democratic development, and it is a great help for the trade unions in representing the workers' interests, and at the same time in the socialist formation of the worker consciousness.

The system of youth parliaments creates an opportunity for young people to discuss their own questions and problems. Also, the enterprise discussions of socialist brigade leaders and the various strata discussions — of innovators, inventors, shop foremen, etc. — have become regular affairs.

The production discussion is the direct forum for participation in production problems. It is an error, however, that in many places they place the primary emphasis on defining the task, and the solicitation of views for the establishing of the leader's decisions and for making choices is neglected, as well as the guidance for initiatives and an accounting, based on merits, of work performed and of management results and problems.

The development of movement work must proceed in a way that the membership — not only at movement forums but elsewhere, too — should always feel the presence of democratism, that its voice and recommendations have importance, and it should feel secure that its concerns and efforts are known and that the trade union leadership takes them into account in making every decision. For them, the important question is not at what forum and by what methods democratism will become possible but that it should be a matter of everyday practice.

#### Common Task

It is an indispensable requirement for the consistent execution of our social goals that in defining concrete economic tasks the economic leaders should everywhere take their political effects into account. It is primarily the party organs that can help in this respect. The party organizations are primarily responsible for the development of factory democracy. The party organizations must require both of the economic leaders and of the trade unions

that they should require substantive work aimed at developing and realizing factory democracy.

The task is very simple but still complicated. Always and at all levels — in deciding big and small matters alike — the solution serving socialist, common goals must be sought. It is only this basic stance which can assure everyday democratism. A good work place atmosphere, the assurance of conditions for productive work are a common interest. In the realization of interests and the creation of a harmony of interests, however, not only the trade unions have an important task but also the state and economic leaders.

In socialism, no one has the right to hinder the workers from having a voice in the life of the work place. If this does occur, it injures the essence of our system, and the consequences cause harm: the inclination to have a voice is reduced, creative ideas are lost, activity grows slack, and all this has an effect on production, work competition, plant democracy, human relations, and on the relations of leaders and subordinates. Therefore, it must be understood, and work and guidance must proceed accordingly, that the working class is not the object of building socialism, or a means of carrying out its decrees and instructions, but everything must be done on its behalf. It is not the working class for socialism, but socialism for the working class!

We cannot permit failure anywhere to consider the opinion of the workers. If someone does not understand this, he does not understand our political life, or our goals. He does not understand that factory democracy is an organic part of the leadership of socialist enterprises. The influence of democracy on the thinking of people, on their attitudes is immeasurably important.

The development of factory democracy has not remained, and will not remain, at the level of desires and wishes because the constantly growing activity of the masses is one of the basic matters of socialist development.

In wake of the resolution by our party's Political Committee, an experiment was conducted for 2 years in 50 factories on the development of factory democracy in two ways. In some of the plants we wanted to make progress by building on the trade union stewards, and in others by means of discussions among the workers' deputies. The experiment is ended. On basis of the experiences, the Political Committee decided to take the next step in developing factory democracy by building on the stewardship bodies.

It is a joint task, of course, of the party organizations and the economic leadership. In this, every organization will have its own special task as well as the combined task. Still valid is the resolution of the Eleventh Congress that political responsibility for the development of factory democracy belongs to the party and to the factory party organizations. A joint resolution of the Council of Ministers and of the Presidium of SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions] outlines the tasks of the economic leadership and the trade unions in certain questions of factory democracy.

Thus the fact that the rights of the stewardship bodies are increased does not mean — it cannot mean — that anyone should think that because the trade unions again acquired new rights the party organizations have less to do and the rights of the economic leaders have been weakened.

Every trade union sphere of authority and right guaranteed in law should be regarded not as that of the trade unions but of the workers as guaranteed in law. The leading role of the party, the responsibility and work of the economic leadership, and the entire activity of the trade union is only a means. The goal is the fulfillment of the working man's life. In Hungary, everything occurs in order to make the life of the working man finer and better, and everything else is a means thereto, which helps in the attainment of the goal. We must work together for the goal, once more emphasizing that every factory organization has its own task and also has the combined task, in other questions as well as in the development of factory democracy.

We have already spoken of the socialist mode of economic leadership, and of the fact that the development of factory democracy does not contradict the principle of individual responsible leadership. In fact, it does not contradict, but helps and lends security.

We say that in our society the leading role belongs to the working class. And this is how it is. It has in its hands the overwhelming bulk of the means of production, and it produces the basic part of the national income. Thus the working class is the determining factor, the leading force in building socialism. It will become even more so if we see to it that it takes a more active part in arranging the affairs of the factories, enterprises and the country, and we assure the conditions thereof in a many-sided way.

We used to say, and this too is true, that the worker is the owner of the factories, the work places, If we want the proprietary way of thinking to develop more rapidly — which is a condition for the leading role of the class — then we must also promote it by assuring a worthy participation in decisions.

We are now developing a developed socialism. If there are criteria for defining a socialist society (and it does have criteria), then factory democracy belongs among them. A socialist society is a transitory category. The more developed it is, the closer it is to being "in transition," to the goal, to the communist society when — according to the classical teaching — the working man will direct himself. According to the Marxist world outlook, this is our future. It is not by accident that the communist self-direction precept has a role also in our party's program statement. And not only in our party. But this cannot be regarded as a slogan. We must deal with this in the process and prepare for it over a long period of time.

A child cannot be left to himself with the expectation that when he is of age he will "enter on life." He has to be schooled for many years, taught, educated, prepared for life and work. For the worker — among others — factory democracy is such a school, and we would like to enter into the next grade.

What is the next step, the next "grade?"

Even until now it has been the case that we could decide the uses of certain material means within the factory by asking the workers and receiving their approval. In this, we obtained certain experiences which are generally good but call attention to the need to move forward.

For example, we have in some factory a residual profit which can be used for various purposes. The method so far has been that the economic leadership "counted out" exactly how much could be given for what; the party's executive committee gave its opinion, and then the matter was passed to the trade union committee. It too took a look and then made it known to the workers through the stewards or at other meetings that so much was for wages, so much for social, cultural goals, so much for other purposes, and then asked for views. This too was a democratic method. What is its weakness: The fact that the economic leadership, the party's executive committee, and the trade union committee can no longer undertake full responsibility for the decision. The work collective takes over a greater share. It must be worked out in a way called for by our socialist system. Now, too, it happens that certain questions are corrected on the basis of discussions with the workers. In the future, this must occur even more — this is the purpose of the whole thing.

We know, and it is well known, that in the factories and places of work the interests of the workers as expressed are not the same. It is not like it was 20 years ago. The judgments and requirements of people are different. One thing can be stated with certainty: they vote that every sum be used, without further ado, for wage development. But you cannot use every sum for wages. Then for what? Many other things. For example, for provisions in the factory cafeteria, factory housing, construction of children's institutions, the development of a recreation network, sport facilities, etc. These are all common affairs, matters of common interest. But here already the intentions are divergent. Whoever is without a house would like to devote all the money for building worker houses. Whoever eats at the factory cafeteria would like to improve the food; but whoever does not eat there, would not give it a penny. Whoever has small children would urge the building of nurseries. But whoever has older children would want a day school. Whoever has a small week-end house would not give a cent for the development of a recreation network. Whoever has almost everything would like a garage not only at home but at work. It is infinitely difficult to find one's way among the many demands, and none of them can be branded wrong or unjust. As we develop and grow, the scale of requirements will expand. Of course, we must rank the demands, but it is not a good thing to make the decisions centrally, or if the matters are settled at the top managerial level.

It has also happened that the workers were intrusted with these decisions. And it was evident that if they are given responsibility for a decision they can act responsibly. If they are asked formally, their reply will also be formal. But they can reply and decide in a worthy manner if given a chance.

## Path to Further Development

We should like now to move ahead in wake of the Political Committee's resolution. In 1978 we shall start out with a new, unified order in industry, the construction industry, transportation, commerce and the socialist sector of agriculture, building several very important tasks on the stewardships.

How does the new system look?

We shall use everything we can from the previous experiences. The method of procedure is similar to the old, and only the final process is being changed, and decisions will be more democratic. The economic leadership, as previously, will prepare its own proposals. The party's executive committee will give an expert opinion on it. Thereafter, an opinion will be given by the trade union committee. After all this, when there is an agreement, the new way will enter into effect. The trade union committee will prepare a brief of the proposals according to meaning and give this to the stewards. The stewards will discuss the ideas with the workers who elected them and assemble their proposals and observation. These will be summarized by the trade union committee, and according to its order and method it will coordinate this with the party's executive committee, and if necessary with the economic leadership. They will examine it and the present it to the plenary. In smaller factories, where this is possible, all the workers will be assembled. Where this is not possible — and this will be the case more often — the proposal will be submitted to a joint meeting of the body of stewards and the trade union council, the forum at which the decision is made.

The scope of those questions on which a decision can be rendered is regulated in the Work Code and the collective contracts. These questions were previously also decided at forums, and now in this way the decision will be made on the basis of a discussion by a broader forum. In matters where agreement exists, there is a decisions.

The development of factory democracy is not concluded with this resolution. This is a process; this is where we are for the time being and this is how much we were able to advance; later we will have to develop it further in an appropriate manner. In the area of salaried employees and intellectual workers, the problems are more complicated, and therefore we will turn to those later. For the time being, we will keep the old way in these areas, and later during another phase we shall advance here too.

A number of persons have expressed their concern whether the stewards are already at the level where they can make responsible decisions in these matters. In reply, I can only say that the stewards were born of the class which has the power in this country. Every member of this class can reach the level of responsible decision if given the opportunity. We do not need interpret this as meaning that by, say, tomorrow morning every steward will know his work. This, too, is a process, and in this process people will grow into their responsibilities and obligations. Those who cannot will have to be replaced by newly elected members. Everyone must take care, the workers, the party and

the trade union committees that the szb's [Trade Union Committees] elect the best, most suitable people, those who can meet the increased tasks. And so, we do not have to worry about this.

Another such concern is that the number of forums has not decreased but rather increased. The factories are already overburdened. Could we not drop some?

The Political Committee weighed this carefully. But none of the forums could be dropped for they all have different missions. We cannot put these decisions on the production discussions because they have another function. At production discussions, they take up the production tasks facing the factory, and their solution. Or in the transferred sense, this is the forum for preparing the soil, sowing, and plant care. The new forum is for harvesting. When we have gathered in, we can see what we have in the sack, what we can distribute, and where.

The greatest concern and the most discussions were in that area of the Political Committee's resolution requiring that economic leaders also be work classified. There is still a great deal of misunderstanding here. It is not meant that the classification must be invented at these forums. The classification of economic leaders has its place and order. We say here that there is a party nomenclature, a list of spheres of authority which gives where each leader belongs. The trade unions have their appropriate sphere of authority in naming and rendering opinions. And when the trade union secretary at a combined discussion of the vszt [Factory Trade Union Committee] stewards has to say something about the administrators, leaders, he will not be the one to come up with it. The giving of opinions and making of appropriate judgments is invested in the district party committees — if the administrator belongs there — or elsewhere, wherever he belongs. The existing opinion must be communicated there, and the appropriate party organ knows that the szb also has something to say about the administration.

Thus the existing, agreed on opinion must be communicated. Good things can also be said — this is not prohibited by socialist morality. There is frequent cause for saying good things. Critical observations must also be stated. This is not an ordinary possibility. The credibility of the workers' power at the factory level is fulfilled in this way.

The essence of the Political Committee's resolution, the most essential feature of the development of plant democracy, is that it seeks to create a harmony of unity in rights and obligations, that every one should perform his work honorably. Because it is not only a matter of the workers' or stewards' telling the economic leaders that this is not good or that is not good. It is not only the task of the economic leaders but also of party leaders and the trade unions to bring everyone to understand that without disciplined, honorable work and without the fulfillment of obligations there will be no basis for the exercise of rights. This is not a place for work specialization where one says what is good and another what is bad. The good must be represented together by workers, leaders, party, and trade union; the bad must be weeded out by everyone, because there is still weeding to do.

Finally, there is one main problem which is not in the resolution of the Political Committee, and there are some who do not think it belongs to factory democracy. This is the basic precept that it is not correct and is impermissible to permit an unjust injury to anyone in the socialist system. In many places, we still find arbitrariness, unfairness, and inhuman bureaucracy. We would like to reduce and eliminate this with a factory legal assistance service which we have introduced as a prior means of plant democracy. Now there are 60,000 to 80,000 disputed cases being handled. More than half of them are of a kind that could be settled within the factory. But they will not be. They will be sent to the reconciliation committees, and then to the courts, and months or weeks will be taken up in anger and bitterness before they are resolved somehow.

Legality is an organic part of party policy, and everyone must strive to see there can be no violation of the law either locally or nationally. The law applies to everyone, and is valid for everyone.

The working class must perceptibly feel from day to day that socialism, at its given degree of development, is seeking to attend in a human way and in every detail to the interests, requirements and needs of the worker. We must develop a work policy that will make it possible for the working man to feel — above all through what happens at the factory — that he has a voice, there is a need for his ideas and the power is his. It must also be realized in relation to a higher level of building socialism because this is what creates the desired harmony for the coordination of interests, participation in common thinking, and the politics characteristic of socialism.

The development of factory democracy is a process inseparable from the development of our society. To the extent we advance in the development of society and to the extent we advance in realizing a developed socialist society, we shall also advance in the development of factory democracy. Plant democracy is a manifold means of social development which can give a new upswing to economic, political and ideological life. Today this is one of the pledges of the successful realization of our tasks and the guarantee for the unity of the policy proclaimed at the party congress, and its execution.

6691

CSO: 2500



## HUNGARY

### EXPERIENCE WITH PLANT DEMOCRACY EVALUATED

Budapest SZAKSZERVEZETI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 3, 1977 pp 45-49

[Article by Gyozo Nagy: "The Experiences of People's Control on the Level of Plant Democracy"]

[Text] The documents of our party's 11th congress have established, among other things, the tasks of the further development of plant democracy. "For the establishment of plant democracy the formation of such internal management, accounting and information systems is necessary which provide for the workers a more accurate perspective of the whole and parts of production, and which clarifies the measure of their participation according to accomplishments."-- "The trade unions must gradually organize in the shops, in the plant units and company wide the discussions during worker meetings, in large plants, during worker representative meetings, a system of discussion by shop stewards."-- "The ones logically responsible for the establishment of plant democracy are the shop party organizations and their chief supporters, the trade unions."

From this formulation it is already apparent that we are talking about a many branched but mutual assignment among the country's national and social organizations. The Council of Ministers adopted a resolution aimed at promoting the execution of tasks, and the minister of labor [MuM] jointly with the National Council of Trade Unions [SZOT] issued central guiding directives. The MuM and the SZOT requested the Central People's Control Committee [KNEB] to summarize its experiences with the development of plant democracy.

Considering the character and political importance of the subject, the evaluation was conducted by the FNEB [Metropolitan People's Control Committee] with the participation of all of the megyeNEB's [People's Control Committees] which, in 1976, organized examinations in 66 operating units and gathered information from 202 units. Among these, the 25-25 firms designated by the MuM and the SZOT for experimentation with the plant democracy's new forum system--discussions of worker representatives and shop stewards--occupied conspicuous positions. In this way new information was gathered from the contacted firms, factories and factory units. In the summary of

the collected data a place was provided for the opinions of the workers in the plants involved in the inquiry and research. The inclusion of the SZMT's [county trade union councils] contributed significantly to the accomplishment of the task. In many places, among party and trade union bodies, the findings were placed on the daily agenda. From all these we have sufficient basis to summarize the national findings and to draw from them conclusions that may be generalized.

If we had to characterize the status of plant democracy in one sentence, we would have to say that in regard to its development on all levels, seeking expedient ways is characteristic, and that the formal elements are still receiving considerably more emphasis than the contents.

Although the promotion of plant democracy tasks has been placed on the daily agenda of the various levels of political and economic leadership, in many places there has been little progress beyond the definition of the task. It is no mere chance then, that in the area of plant democracy those operating units which have shown results earlier, which are generally well organized and managed, were the first ones to try to render plant democracy more substantial.

The continued development of plant democracy cannot be wrenched--as many, often well-intentioned, imagine--from the socioeconomic reality; directly or indirectly a series of factors affect the realization of plant democracy. If we bring to mind only two of these--the plant and work organization, and the continued training of workers (to which higher level resolutions are in effect)--we can state that the backwardness apparent here is discernible also in the status of plant democracy.

That the continued development of plant democracy has so far achieved only rather unspectacular results can be traced to the following chief causes.

The branch ministries handed out directives to the operating units under their management regarding the performance of the 1973 government resolutions only after a delay of 1 year. The government's resolution number 2010/1975 again called the attention of ministers and council presidents of the capital city as well as the megye to the positive tasks, to the reexamination of earlier directives, to their modification as needed. In spite of this resolution, the ministers and council presidents were tardy in issuing directives, and when issued, the directives, for the large part, merely repeated the government resolution, failing to provide specific instructions to the firms under their direction. The different demand level of the ministries is shown by the fact that for the accomplishment of equally weighty tasks, they prescribed rather dissimilar time limits.

The majority of the firms, therefore, without branch direction, placed the task of expanding plant democracy on the daily agenda at the initiative of local party and trade unions organs. These initiatives were also characterized by the search for method. While this is not common, it did happen at one of the large firms with several rural factory units that 30 members

were delegated, on a parity basis, to be on the director's council. In a large number of the operating units it is not sufficiently known that the expansion of plant democracy is a joint party, trade union and company management task. It has been our experience that in many places the organization and preparation of the forums showed itself to be solely a trade union problem. The level of economic leadership and the display of various forms of leadership conduct have not altered sufficiently in the desired direction. A portion of management still sees an opposition between the assertion of the concept of singular responsible leadership and the accomplishment of plant democracy. On this point, in addition to the opinions of a segment of management and of workers, principally the multitude of formal elements appearing through the practice of plant democracy serves as proof.

The development of plant and work organization and the improvement of their effectiveness have been on the daily agenda for a number of years. Their level, despite the accomplished results, still falls short of the requirements. The organization-development plans are not part of the company's complex plan documentation, nor are they the foundation of positive tasks.

The workers collectives, through recommendations, could most closely ally themselves to matters of plant and work organization. Presently, even this is not happening. In fact, the preparatory tone of the various forums is not in this direction. Nevertheless, this is the basis not only for more effective operation, but for the improvement of both working and earning conditions.

Industrial organizational practices in the years past have brought into existence many strongly centralized companies which, however, operate as territorially isolated organizational units. The decentralization necessary for effective production has not yet taken place. The majority of the leaders of the lower levels of organizational units are the executors of only the centrally prescribed directives. Under these circumstances plant democracy is merely punctillious, since even the leaders fail to avail themselves of their appropriate rights of asserting recommendations and opinions.

There are few advancements in the development of internal planning, management and interest promoting systems which would foster more effective production. Many companies have not examined their organizational structures, have not developed suitable decision making levels. The factories, factory units, plants and shops directed by the central office of a trust or firm are not yet in command of the necessary independence for effective operation, so their results are more meager and their responsibility cannot assert itself.

The current internal planning, operational and interest producing systems used by operating units is one of the obstacles to the spread of plant democracy, as well as to the more effective functioning. The lower level units (factories, factory units, plants) which undertake significant roles in production are not acquainted with their tasks in sufficient time and in

sufficient detail. A graduated planning system with the underlying information methods which make possible the formation of plans from the bottom up, thereby allowing plant democracy to succeed, have not yet developed (except in a few companies).

The development conceptions, the conditions of production tasks and their execution (material, machinery, work force), and the possibility of pecuniary motivation are not known at the proper time and in proper detail. Often the possibility and regulation of the suitable differentiation of monetary incentives, intimately tied to accomplishment, is lacking.

The performance-centered internal interest system is replaced by a simple, lower level adaptation of wage adjustment which is binding on the firms. Under these circumstances the operation of the forum system of plant democracy becomes merely a form, or is often missing entirely. One of the megye people's control committees has reported that at one of the large firms' rural factory units, many times the reason for laborer's resignation is that authorization for their hourly wages from the Budapest central office often takes several weeks. Such extreme, senseless centralization of the wage system does not help the local management to function, neither does it enhance the effectiveness of the operation. This situation does not serve effectively to accomplish company goals of production and evolution of production structure. In fact, should it be necessary, it is unable to assist in the accomplishment of company or people's economy goals by its intervention.

In the past years, the effect of work-force turnover was felt on work effectiveness. Turnover in worker population, a drop in cadre staff membership, the work atmosphere and the problems of new worker integration all hindered the expansion of plant democracy. Naturally, class-conscious ideological training of some groups of workers is not yet satisfactory. This is manifested by the fact that workers are most active when their rights or some kind of reward form is concerned. Not rare also is the conception that work discipline and plant democracy are opposed to each other.

#### How Did They Regulate the Forum System of Plant Democracy?

In the majority of the companies the forum system of plant democracy was regulated. But in many places, all forums--direct, indirect and councils among different levels--are present. In places six or seven can be listed, and occasionally even more than 10 can be discovered. In general, the forum system and its operation was included either under a special rule, or under organizational-operational regulations.

However, the daily usefulness and up-to-dateness of organizational-operational regulations is often inappropriate. They fail to carry over the necessary changes, and they add large numbers of supplements to the managerial directives, making their understanding rather difficult. Thus the forum procedure of plant democracy becomes severed from organizational-operational control of the management activity and often concrete methods and tasks are

replaced by general viewpoints springing from the directive principle. This is the reason why there is considerable parallelism in certain forums. Parallelism is particularly attributable to the firms' new forums, the councils of worker representatives and stewards. Identical subjects--such as familiarization with the year plans, reporting on plan completion, allotment on participation basis, the internal order of wage and income regulation, the collective contract, its modification and the annual report, work competition volunteering, the socialist cultural provision--are brought before the new and traditional forums, for example, before the production councils. A portion of the workers hears the same subject several times, wasting either work or free time needlessly, in fact, weakening or distorting the strength of the information.

The most common, the best known and the one forum which involves the greatest cross section of workers is the traditional direct production discussion. The shortcoming of these discussions, held with 70 or 80 percent worker participation--besides the inadequacies apparent in their preparation--is that, in most cases, the workers receive orientation only regarding the tasks and achievements of the company (and not of the given collective, plant or shop).

The number of participants decreases drastically if the discussions are held after working hours, if the majority of the employed is women, if commuting from the country, or if they work more than one shift. Often the workers' lack of interest is caused by management's bringing before the forum operational, social or, for example, incentive questions which have already been settled.

The workers' participation, the seeking of their opinions asserts itself particularly at the drafting of collective contracts, at their modification and at the discussion of management reports on their implementation. The majority of recommendations and remarks are of personal character, dealing with worker interest protection, social or wage questions. Written documentation of the proceedings of production discussions is unsatisfactory. Even if minutes are kept, from these the step by step development of the discussions, the questions, the recommendations and the answers cannot always be followed. Only a portion of the firms record, on the basis of the discussions, the tasks, the responsible individuals and the completion deadlines. We can discern from the opinions of the questioned workers that their information regarding the inner life of the company and the activities of the plants is deficient, making their experience rather narrow. Mid-management is not adequately informed either, as it is evidenced by their lack of preparation to conduct production discussions, and by their inability to answer the questions of workers.

In the production council reports, because of lack of preparation and of observable problems, the characteristic of accountability does not dominate, the local execution of performance assignments is not viewed with sufficient seriousness, consequently, the collective does not have the opportunity to evaluate management performance, and worker control cannot come into its own.

The picture from the brigade conferences is better. These and the socialist brigade leaders' conferences belong to the most active forums. At these forums the discussion of political and economic assignments is rapid and task oriented, thus, their development of plant democracy is of increasingly greater importance. A number of firms have given the brigades decision making powers in matters of wages and rewards. The responsibility and cohesive strength of the brigades are being asserted more and more. The tone of the numerically less populous brigade conferences is open and candid. More legitimate and inspiring judgments are voiced here than at other forums. The generally observed deficiency of the brigade movement, however, is that the majority of work competition undertakings have been tied to some outstanding political or economic event. There is no continuity; at the completion of each undertaking the activity of the movement is noticeably slackened. Nevertheless, for substantial, more positive undertakings, the framework for material and moral recognition is generally given.

The designated companies brought into existence the conferences of worker delegates and chief stewards (stewards). Manual laborers were delegated to directors' councils, but the number of these delegates varied widely from 2 to 3 to 30 individuals. The composition of the newly formed bodies conforms approximately to the requirements of the directive principles and to the companies' individuality (proportion of women, young people, etc). The majority of the worker delegates were officers in some social organization. This, in the beginning, caused passivity. The subjects placed on the daily agenda conform generally to the suggestions of the directives. So far there are few recommendations and worthwhile supplementary comments to the proposals. The subject areas, remarks and recommendations of the conferences held thus far correspond with those of the production conferences.

The early results and opinions indicate that the new forms can create closer relationships among the collective, the delegates and management. The collective's information on the position of the conferences is inadequate. The subjects selected for discussion by the worker delegates are not yet stimulating to the point that, proper to its goal, they would bring worker control into being. It would be appropriate for the councils to be continuously active on the basis of the already prepared work program and thus eliminate their desultory character.

A number of companies see the further development of plant democracy through the creation of new forums. However, the workers' opinion on the effectiveness of the new forums is strongly divided. They have spoken out on the needless broadening of the plant democracy's forum system and on promoting the effectiveness of the forums.

#### The Political and Occupational Preparedness of the Workers

The political and occupational refinement of the workers significantly influences the functioning of the plant democracy's forums, thus, in many places, they have taken measures to enhance it further. The basic goal is

to improve the proportion of general school graduates to non-graduates, which today barely exceed 70 percent. The proportions of return to further schooling, in most cases, indicate a rising tendency. The demand level, by students or by companies, for some form of training or further training has not yet progressed significantly beyond the point of satisfaction with either sending or simple participation in schooling. There is insufficient demand and motivation for earning higher occupational and political expertise. In the curriculum of the training courses, however, questions of plant democracy and management behavior are receiving increasing attention.

The companies which are operating the new forums on an experimental basis have organized further training for those occupying officer positions. In numerous operating units, however, the training activity is not sufficiently organized yet, the leadership is not eliciting the appropriate activity in the interest of increasing the general and occupational refinement of the workers.

Noteworthy is the observation according to which, besides the training of manual laborers, an urgent task is the further training of the production directors and the raising of the level of their expertise (political, occupational) since they are some of the key performers in the more effective implementation of plant democracy.

The further development of plant democracy is necessary and specifies positive tasks in every company. The forum system is given, the goal is to fill it with content. Its realization can be furthered only by tenacious, planned activity, devoting great attention to the fact that the success of plant democracy is shaped, motivated by exceptionally many factors.

9093

CSO: 2500

POLAND

POLAND-FRG RELATIONS VIEWED ON EVE OF SCHMIDT VISIT

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 38, 17 Sep 77 p 2

[Article by Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski]

[Text] In several days the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Helmut Schmidt, will pay an official visit to our country. Over a year ago, in June 1976, he received the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR, Comrade Edward Gierek. Even earlier, at the end of July and beginning of August 1975, during the third phase of the CSCE conference in Helsinki, the two leaders met for the first time. From press reports we know that, in their contact up to the present time, Helmut Schmidt and Edward Gierek spoke the same language concerning numerous matters involving bilateral relations and problems dealing with the preservation and strengthening of peace in Europe. We can express the conviction that new strength will be added in Warsaw to these relations and to efforts to strengthen detente.

We should also recall that the visit of the Federal Chancellor comes during a period in which we note a growth in the number of political contacts in the relations between Poland and the FRG. In May, a Polish Sejm delegation, headed by Edward Babiuch, visited in Bonn; in July, the head of the SPD, Willy Brandt, visited Poland; and recently Wolfgang Mischnik, leader of the parliamentary faction of the FDP in the Bundestag, was in Poland. The discussions which were conducted on the occasion of these visits did not have a formal character. In relations between Poland and the Federal Republic, there can be no room for nonsubstantive contacts and discussions. In the interests of peace in Europe and of creating a lasting atmosphere of mutual trust and respect between our two countries, we must be specific and to the point. This does not mean that we look into all matters involving the content of relations between us and the FRG from the point of view of accountants. This is not so now and will not be so in the foreseeable future. The emotional factor plays a vital role in them. This should not cause surprise in the FRG, even among those Germans who consider reconciliation with Poland to be an attainable objective.



For example, if we add our voice to those Europeans in the East and West, and also to those Germans, who are disturbed by the very scanty knowledge of the youth of the FRG about Hitler and his crimes, if we express our dissatisfaction with attempts to rehabilitate Hitlerite criminals, this is not the result of tactical considerations of self-interest or of some "in-born anti-Germanism," but rather a demonstration of a deeply rooted feeling of responsibility for the present and future relations between our nations. Thinking Poles are far from desiring to put the FRG in a pillory. Poles cannot but have an interest in the existence of actually very good relations with the Germans. So that such relations can exist, there can be no unspoken matters between us, no tracts of silence.

We are convinced that this is understood by our partners, the Social Democrats and Free Democrats with whom we have already for 7 years, not without periodically emerging difficulties, been building a new kind of relationship between our two countries and nations.

As we greet the Federal Chancellor in Warsaw, it would be inappropriate not to compare the actual state of these relations with those which existed in the forties, fifties and sixties. They are qualitatively different. We should remember that it was the social-liberal coalition which, recognizing the definitive character of the border on the Oder and Neise, inaugurated this new and promising period in the relations between the FRG and Poland. We describe this step as evidence of realism. I think that this is not completely revelatory of the truth. The intentions of the successive Social Democrat chancellors, Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt, go beyond political realism, which we customarily understand as acceptance of facts. On the other hand, equally Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt gave proof that they desire something more, namely the creation in relations with Poland of a situation which will make possible that aforementioned reconciliation.

As we carry out an analysis of these relations, it is not difficult to perceive that the current Chancellor busies himself with them intensively. More than once he has clearly stated that he considers them to be an important element in the politics of the FRG. In a word, we are lucky with Social Democrat chancellors.

Polish public opinion accepts with satisfaction the opinion which Helmut Schmidt has about our country. In an interview with POLITYKA last March, the Chancellor, replying to a question about his personal view of Poland, said the following, among other things:

"The Polish nation has made an essential contribution to the history and culture of Europe. In the post-war years, it carried out a reconstruction worthy of wonder. Let me be allowed to recall that, in the summer of 1966, as the then deputy to the leader of the parliamentary faction of the SPD, I visited your country for the first time. In the course of the more than 10 years which have passed since that trip, much has changed, not only in your country, but in relations between our countries. Both here and there

a long-term political process has been carried out, until--after the signing of the German-Polish agreement in 1970 and after the understandings during the time of my meeting with the First Secretary in Helsinki in 1975--we could create the conditions for an essential improvement of our relations, which then found expression in the First Secretary's visit to the FRG.

"The meeting with the First Secretary allowed me to come to know a man whose political thought, readiness to come to an understanding, wide horizons, and decisiveness made a big impression on me. I am especially impressed by the economic development of Poland, which has developed from an almost wholly agrarian country into a modern industrialized state. I have great respect for the cultural achievements of the Polish nation, which have an influence far beyond the country's borders, and also for the living consciousness of history which expresses itself in the cultivation of national traditions and in the faithful reconstruction of historical architectural monuments.

"I anticipate with joy my second visit to Poland, this time in my role as Federal Chancellor. It will be put to the purpose of accomplishing all those tasks about which we are speaking in this interview. It will also be, for many Poles and Germans, a fresh opportunity for mutual reflection about ourselves and for meeting each other halfway."

And so, Mr Federal Chancellor, Herzlich Willkommen [Welcome!].

CSO: 2600

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU ADDRESSES EDUCATIONAL CADRES MEETING

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 10 Sep 77 pp 1, 2, 3 AU

[Text of speech by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu at the 9 September meeting with activists and cadres in the area of political education, propaganda and ideology]

[Text] Dear comrades, at the end of our meeting with activists and cadres employed in the area of political education, propaganda and ideology, I want to speak on a few questions concerning our party's current activities. As is well known, our party's policy is centered on efforts to unabatedly fulfill the 11th Congress decisions and the program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society and on Romania's advance toward communism.

Almost three years have passed since the congress, and one year and eight months since the beginning of the 1976-80 five-year plan. We therefore have a basis for estimating how these decisions have been implemented, and how the five-year plan is being fulfilled. One may say that life has fully confirmed the correctness of the congress decisions and of the provisions of the party program. Generally speaking, we have obtained good results in fulfilling the five-year plan, during this time, the industrial growth rate has been higher than that envisaged in the five-year plan, and thus, we have obtained an additional production totaling close to 20 billion lei.

We have attained good results in agriculture, too, as well as in the other economic sectors. New measures have been adopted to improve the educational system and to link it more closely to practice, to life, to research and production. On the basis of the decisions taken at the congress and at plenums of the party Central Committee, measures were also adopted to stimulate scientific activities, to increase the role of science in all activities--more so since in the course of this five-year plan we must implement what we decided at the congress in connection with the more pronounced assertion of the scientific-technical revolution in all areas of activity.

Measures were also adopted, and decisions were implemented regarding cultural-artistic activities and raising the level of the socialist consciousness of the broad masses. Within this framework, a series of measures were

established to improve party education, which was provided with a more sound basis, suited to the requirements of socialist construction, and of educating and raising the political-ideological level of the party and the masses.

Emphasis should be laid on the fact that during this period we have begun implementing the congress decisions on raising the material and intellectual living standard. You are familiar with the measures and the program established by the Central Committee Plenum, and so I will not now dwell on them.

Steps were also taken to improve the scientific leadership of society and of the development of socialist democracy. Several important national events took place since the congress, beginning with the Congress of the People's Councils, the Congress of Education and Culture, the Agricultural Congress, and the Congress of Working People's Councils--to mention only a few of particular importance for the development of socialist democracy and for creating the organizational framework necessary to permit the more active participation of the masses in leading all sectors of activity.

Not long ago, on the basis of the decisions of the executive political committee, a number of measures were adopted to improve our legislation and the system of carrying out sentences; in particular, it was decided that young people who commit various deviations or violations will no longer be sent to prison--unless of course it is a question of murder or particularly grave cases--and that the working people's collectives and civic organizations should play a greater role in educating such young people. All these measures are in line with our efforts to improve our society, to develop socialist democracy, to enhance the role of the masses in all activities.

As I have already said, an important role was played by intensive political-educational activities to shape the new man. The "Hymn to Romania" national festival provided a strong stimulus to cultural-artistic activities and to mass participation in such activities.

This is why, in the light of the successes attained in all the sectors of activity, we may forcefully state that our party is fulfilling in good conditions its role as the leading political force in all socioeconomic activities and in our entire society, insuring the fatherland's resolute advance along the path of socialism, toward communism. (loud and prolonged applause)

Although we will hold our national conference at the end of the year--when we will examine in detail all our activities--we may already state at this meeting that life, the activities carried out so far, and the achievements attained demonstrate the fact that our party had adopted correct decisions, in accordance with general laws and with the economic, social, and national conditions prevailing in our country, and fully in accordance with the requirement of this stage of development of our society; they demonstrate that the party is capable of consistently applying the general truths to the concrete conditions prevailing in Romania. This is precisely the

explanation of the results attained in all the fields of activity, to our country's resolute progress, to the unabated implementation of the 11th Congress decisions and of the program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society and on the advance toward communism.

Dear comrades, we undoubtedly have grounds to be pleased with the results obtained. However, despite all these remarkable achievements, we cannot ignore the fact that shortcomings and flaws still exist in our activities, and that various mistakes are still made. We must openly admit this, since these shortcomings have a negative impact on various sectors of activity, and on the ever more satisfactory implementation of the 11th Congress decisions.

At the Agricultural Congress and at the Congress of Working People's Councils, I mentioned certain flaws and shortcomings both in the economy, and in general and scientific activities. Here I should like to say that many shortcomings exist, and certain mistakes were made in political-educational activities, in propaganda, and in ideological work, too. One may say that the activities carried out in this sector do not manage to keep abreast of the great changes that are taking place in our country. As far as I have been informed, certain critical and self-critical remarks were heard at the meeting in connection with these shortcomings. I believe that we must much more seriously examine the way in which political-educational activities, party propaganda and ideological activities fulfill their important role, which is to unite the masses' efforts to unabatedly implement our Party's domestic and foreign policies.

We must also mention the fact that often too much attention is given to general aspects, achievements are sometimes festively exhibited while neglecting the concrete problems of political-educational and ideological activities, of closely linking party propaganda and educational and ideological work with daily tasks, with the manner in which the activists, communists and the masses of working people must act in accordance with the realities prevailing in the various sectors of activity. This remark is based on the fact that the purpose of educational, ideological and propaganda activities is not only to explain the Party's general policy, although this is an important task which must be thoroughly carried out. However, just explaining general policies is not enough. [Those employed in] ideological activities and party propaganda must study, and on this basis help people understand the social phenomena taking place in our society as a result of the development of the production forces and of improved social and production relations, they must contribute to working out ways to intensify such activities, with the aim of insuring the closest possible relationship between the nature of the production forces and production relations, and thus of insuring the firm progress of our entire society. At the same time, these activities must result in raising the ideological level of the communists, of the Party and state activists so that each of its members may become not only an activist who fulfills his tasks, but also an active revolutionary militant, who will always see as his

primary duty the struggle to implement the Party's domestic and foreign policy.

Similarly, political-ideological activities must concentrate on raising the political consciousness of the working people, so as to insure that all the citizens of our fatherland understand the complex problems raised by the revolutionary changes taking place both in our country and in the world. It is only by viewing ideological activities, party propaganda and political-educational activities in this light that we can obtain better results in this field. I read today in SCINTEIA an article which stated that the role of party propaganda is to explain the Party's policies. This is, of course, only one of the roles of party propaganda, but if SCINTEIA, the organ of the Central Committee, which should reflect a clear line in this respect, could write this--precisely at the time of this meeting--it means that even the comrades who lead this sector are not quite clear on the meaning of party propaganda and of our Party's political-ideological work. This is precisely the root of the shortcomings of which I was speaking, and of the fact that our propaganda does not fulfill its role as a moving force in uniting the working people's efforts, this is why it has not become a material force stimulating all our activities. Propaganda is content to explain things which have already been established and are known, and which, as a rule, belong to the sphere of agitation and propaganda.

I have devoted somewhat more time to these problems because I think that we must have a correct approach to the role of ideological work and propaganda in order to seriously improve activities in this field.

We must not for a moment forget that the era in which we live is the era of great revolutionary changes, both at a national and an international level, and that profound changes are taking place in the world, changes which must be thoroughly studied in the spirit of the materialist-dialectical and historic revolutionary concept, and which must not only be understood, but must also serve as basis for the Party's directions and activities in all areas, both at the domestic and international level.

We must understand that the Party and state activists and the leadership cadres at all levels play an important role in all these activities. They can only fulfill their mission if their political and ideological training is thorough, and if it equips them to understand the shifts and great revolutionary changes which are occurring in the society; at the same time, they must be capable of mapping out solutions and of organizing conscious activities by the masses in accordance with these changes in all the socio-economic sectors and in international activities. Today more than ever we need activists, Party and state cadres, and communists steeped in the revolutionary spirit, thoroughly familiar with the materialist-dialectical and historical outlook of the world, who can work in accordance with the general laws, but always placing the emphasis on applying these laws to the concrete conditions prevailing at a respective stage in our country.

We have attained good results; it would seem that some people, satisfied with what we have achieved, have become complacent. In general, I must say, there exists a certain state of self-satisfaction, an idea that we may do anything without having to study things too thoroughly because good decisions already exist in any event, and that is enough. However, we must not for a moment forget that such complacency is very dangerous for any revolutionary party, for any revolutionary, and thus for our party, too. We must adopt a resolute, firm attitude against self-satisfaction and self-assurance, against the mistaken idea that once we have positive decisions we may do anything, and that it is enough to explain the decisions without doing anything else.

It must be clearly understood that each party activist--and even more so those in the sphere of political-educational and ideological activities--must continuously work as a revolutionary, and must in every circumstance place the general interests above everything else, must be ready at any moment to give his life for the cause of the Party, of socialism and communism, for the independence and freedom of the fatherland and of our people. (loud and prolonged applause)

At the same time, we must pay greater attention to political-educational work among the broad masses, to shaping the new man, conscious builder of our society.

In explaining the Party's policy and our general measures--which are of course easier to understand--the educational and propaganda activities must work to get the entire Party and all of our people to actively participate in implementing this policy, to have it implemented by each person in his sector of activity.

It must be clear to us that the decisions and various documents of the Party--such as those concerning socialist equity and ethics--are not there just to be studied within the framework of party education, discussed at various meetings or taught in institutes of higher education, they have been established as a guide for practical daily activities, they have been established to be implemented. However, speaking of socialist equity and ethics, we must frankly admit that little has been done--not to say almost nothing--since the documents were worked out to implement them, to make the working people and the communists begin to organize their lives in accordance with those principles. At the Brasov mass rally I mentioned this question in passing. For example, the measures which were established some time ago, but which were stressed in the Party program mapped out by the 11th Congress, on achieving an equitable relationship, in keeping with the current stage, between low and high incomes, the congress had adopted this principle unanimously. No proposal has been received since then to revise this principle, although the Central Committee receives annually about 150,000-160,000 letters. So far, none has said that this relationship is not adequate--which means that this principle has been endorsed by all of our people. In point of fact, all the congresses I cited above have stressed and adopted the principles established by the 11th Congress and sanctioned in the party program. Nevertheless, the implementation of

these principles has not been all that easy. It is true that we had to make efforts, and even big ones. There have been cases--of course, not after, but before the 11th Congress--when we had to make readjustments based on the fact that the ratio [presumably between salaries] was 1:100 and even 1:150. Understandably, these are things which do not gladden anyone's heart as a rule, but we did not eliminate economic oppression and inequality to replace them by another inequality in the guise of material incentive or the responsibility which some people bear at their job, but in order to create a more just society, in which the people should be masters of the production means, and in which the national income should be distributed equitably, more justly, while preserving, of course, material incentive, which is necessary at the stage at which we are now, but which should not lead to inadmissible situations in flagrant contradiction to the principles of socialist and communist societies.

I cannot say that our party propaganda and those employed in the ideological sector, have attacked these problems resolutely and openly, on the basis of a thorough analysis, capable of indeed promoting a clear understanding, at all the levels, of what the 11th Party Congress established in principle. On the contrary, these problems have been unfortunately ignored.

The 11th Congress--continuing the decisions of the Ninth and Tenth Congresses and of the various plenums of the Central Committee--established a series of directions on the Party's economic policy of rapidly developing the entire national economy. True, a number of articles have been written on this topic, but those were, by far, not thorough analyses substantiating the correctness of this policy, including the utilization of the national income and its distribution into development and consumer funds.

Naturally, practice, and life have demonstrated and continue to demonstrate that these directions and decisions are absolutely correct, because only on this basis were we able to achieve a rapid progress in our national economy, to insure the development of all the areas of the country, and to raise the level of civilization of our entire country. On this basis, we increased the production forces impressively, and this had the appropriate impact on the production and social relations, on the entire social structure of our country. Precisely on this basis, possibilities were created which permitted us to envisage bringing our level of economic development closer to that of the developed countries in a relatively short period of time, and to insure a more substantial growth in the people's living standard.

It is no secret for any of those present here--some are more, others less familiar with these things--that we have also had people, some of them in responsible positions, who thought that it is better to consume as much as possible, and if possible, everything; better to go by the proverb--which we do not in the least accept--that after us, come what may, including the deluge, the main thing is that we should live well! There have even been theories which said: "What will the next generations do if we are doing everything now? We should leave something for the others too." I think there is no danger that we will do everything, because human society will never



stand still, but will continuously develop. (Stir, applause) There are, of course, certain limitations, for example regarding the consumption capacity of society, of man; no one can eat more than it is physiologically possible. Today even, I looked at a document of the health ministry which reports that in Romania approximately 30 percent of diseases are caused by overeating, that too much food is eaten, especially fats, and that this exaggerated consumption has become a threat to the people's health. We will, of course, resume discussion on this topic, I have only digressed to touch on this problem in order to show that there will be certain limitations, and that neither our generation, nor the coming ones, will be able to consume unlimited quantities, unthinkingly. The very limitations of our planet will make people consider this and act more rationally--as for example in the area of fuels, especially oil and energy, people have begun to realize that there are limits which cannot be exceeded.

Thus, from this point of view, measures will have to be adopted to devise the most rational policy possible. However, society will always develop, will always advance, and thus the coming generations, too, will have enough left to do in hundreds and thousands of years. In fact, those theories reflected an erroneous concept, a rich man's petty-bourgeois concept which ignored the general interests of the people and of the development of our society.

This is why our ideological, propaganda and educational work should have paid, and must further pay special attention to clarifying this problem, so that it can be appropriately understood.

Dear comrades, we are seriously concerned with the question of economic efficiency, with reducing material and production expenditures. Generally speaking, this is understood by everybody--at least in theory--namely, that without reducing production and material expenditures, without introducing a thorough spirit of good management, without reducing consumption and markedly increasing economic efficiency on this basis, we will not be able to insure the growth of the national income, and thus create possibilities for our society to have the largest possible net income, both for development purposes and for raising the people's general living standard. I cannot say that our propaganda and political-ideological activities have done everything possible to thoroughly explain these matters, either within the party or amongst the broad masses, who must, in the last analysis, implement these targets.

Much remains to be done concerning labor productivity, too. I do not mean that we should talk in general about labor productivity--because enough is being said and written on this topic--but that we should point out the appropriate ways and means, and make the working people and the Party and state cadres understand how they should act in practice to increase productivity through better production and work organization, mechanization and automation of production and management processes in various areas of activity. Many shortcomings exist in this respect, which should be severely

criticized by our propaganda, whose role is to act more resolutely to promote order. We introduced new, modern systems in many places, including computers, and what happened? Nobody touched the old organizational structure, all those who worked there stayed, on the contrary, to them were added the personnel who manned the computers and the computer centers, that is to say, hundreds of people were added in enterprises, thousands of people in each county. Such an approach to the question of mechanization and of modern management of production and of society can only have harmful effects. Judging by the manner in which some people have tackled this problem so far, we can conclude that it would have been better not to introduce such modern systems. But of course, it is not the mechanization, automation or cybernetics which are to blame, but those who apply them in the above manner, those who have failed to take the appropriate measures for their correct implementation. Our propaganda--and in the propaganda I include of course the ideological activities and those employed in economic sectors--has also failed to note and act and to take a firm stand against these things, which are not to be tolerated in economic practice and life.

Of course, we must work for automation and to introduce modern systems in production and enterprise management and in economic administration; but this must effectively lead to new leadership methods, and to a considerable reduction in personnel. I have been told about such a case in the field of mining. A new system has been introduced by which the presence of methane gas is signalled automatically. Nevertheless, the old structure, dating back to the time when we had no such automatic system, was preserved; the same people were kept on who used to walk with a lantern in their hand and occupy some job. There are 500 such people in the Jiu Valley alone. Of course, we have now established appropriate measures, but this situation has been going on for several years. The explanation provided was that the Labor Ministry had not worked out new norms, and that the Ministry of Mines, Petroleum and Geology, since it did not have the approval of the Labor Ministry, had not seen fit to act--and everybody sat and did nothing. And this is only one example out of hundreds available.

I have spoken on these economic problems because they are not and cannot be considered outside the sphere of propaganda. On the contrary, they are fundamental, basic problems for the propaganda and ideological activities, and for the political-educational work of our party.

As I said before, we have adopted a number of measures to improve the leadership of our society. We have created a system of democratic bodies, beginning with the general meetings, the Working People's Councils and periodic congresses; we have established permanent bodies, such as those dealing with agriculture, Working People's Councils and People's Councils, I am also referring to the legislative chamber. To a certain extent I also include in this the Council of Socialist Education and Culture, which--although it is not fully in accord with what had been decided at the Congress of Education and Culture, because it has not been reorganized, despite the fact that over one year has passed since the congress--is also a new body, which incorporates appropriate bodies down to the level of the

counties, towns, communes, and which in the future will also have bodies in enterprises and institutions. However, not enough attention has been paid and not enough efforts have been made to make all those participating in the activities of those bodies understand what they have to do so that the general meetings may indeed become the leading forum in its respective unit, and so that these councils may function as bodies of collective leadership in all areas of activity.

Our political and ideological activities and our party propaganda have not achieved everything necessary in this respect either, to insure the vitality of those bodies, to promote thorough understanding of their role and prerogatives, and to explain and work out ways to continuously improve socialist democracy on the basis of the measures adopted by the Party and state leadership.

We must frankly admit that not enough has been done to develop the consciousness and raise the level of responsibility of the leadership cadres in the various sectors, to make it understood that these cadres are directly responsible to the Party and to the working people for the places where they were sent to work and for the jobs entrusted to them, and that they must be under the permanent control of the Party and working people and accountable to the masses for their work. It is precisely because not enough pains were taken to educate and shape these cadres in this spirit that we have had and continue to meet more than a few cases of leadership cadres who adopt a superior attitude and keep their distance from the people. Often the workers do not dare to go talk to the director for fear of disturbing him, although, according to the decisions in existence and in practice, the director's door--so to speak--must be open day and night to the workers, to the personnel of the enterprise. Many have isolated themselves, have gotten themselves luxurious offices, ordering all kinds of furniture and rugs at the expense of the state--because we provided for furnishings, although we have often talked about eliminating this state of affairs--and even if they have not posted any notice on their door barring entrance, they say: "See that you do not leave marks on the carpet." (stir in the audience, applause). Many of you comrades know this only too well: what kind of leader of a socialist enterprise is this? The director's life must be in the factory, in the section, in the workshop, that is where he must be, guiding the people, let him get into overalls, let him come in work clothes and work in the enterprise. We have made "gentlemen," so to speak out of some of our directors, who have forgotten that they were once workers themselves, or that their parents are workers, or that, regardless of whether they are workers or not, they are accountable to the workers, and that they were sent there to manage and lead together with the workers, and if they do not do their duty, they must be removed by the workers.

Our propaganda has not dealt thoroughly with the problem of cadre education. This of course is also the problem of our educational system, our school, our academy [presumably the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy], because we teach these cadres how to work with a computer or with a machine, but do not teach them how to work with people. Our party educational system, the

education of leadership cadres must first teach each of them how to work with people, and then with machines. Only when they can work with people will they be able to do a good job. Some people believe that if they know how to operate a computer, they are superior to others, look down on them and adopt an attitude which must be completely eradicated.

Certain propaganda workers may say that these are problems of organization, however, they are vital problems which concern the shaping of party and state cadres and the manner in which each of them deals with people. During the difficult times of underground activities, our party was able to organize and unite the masses precisely because each activist lived among the masses and worked with the people. As I have said repeatedly, for our young people, all the cadres of the Union of Communist Youth, beginning with the first secretary of the Central Committee, must permanently participate in youth activities, must take part in programs, and even dance at meetings of young workers. This is even more valid for trade union activists and cadres and for cadres in the economy. This is the only way for a party, trade union, youth or state leader, no one may shut himself up in an office and believe that if he is an activist or a minister, he is exempt from participating in the life of the production unit and can spend his time as he pleases. No, comrades, each party and state activist, including the county first secretary, and the Central Committee secretaries, must live their lives among the workers, among the working people, at all the levels. In our educational activities, in our party educational system we must place great emphasis on these problems. Because only if our party activists, our communists, understand that their activities must be closely linked to the masses, among the working people, hour by hour and day by day, will we be able to insure the strengthening of the people's unity. We must be aware that only by strengthening the unity of the working people, regardless of their nationality, will we insure that no force in the world can halt our progress. (Loud and prolonged applause)

We must work to raise the level of consciousness of the broad masses, so that they understand that, as owner and at the same time, producer, each working man is directly responsible for activities in the socioeconomic unit in which he works. The accountability reports presented at the working people's general meetings should not be only a matter of form, but must indeed help people gain a clear understanding of the situation in each unit, must facilitate the deepening of self-administration [autogestiune] and self-management [autoconducere] by the workers in each enterprise. After all, each economic unit, each worker must realize that both the further development of his unit and his income depend on the production and general economic activities of the enterprise. We have of course established certain uniform remuneration criteria and will abide by these criteria. However, through the premium system, by the end of the year, enterprises which have carried out positive economic activities have the possibility of earning additional income. There are cases in which some people receive even 1,000 lei more, some a few hundred, and others nothing, or even less than the remuneration--which means that there exists a certain system of differences between incomes. But I have the impression that we have not explained and

are not explaining these problems clearly enough so that they can be understood by each working person, and so that they do not ask at the end of the month, why have I received 5, 10 or 15 percent less. Each person must be permanently conscious of the fact that he will get as much as he has worked.

Certain comrades employed in propaganda pass lightly over certain things which necessitate more thorough explanations, being--if I may say so--more difficult, although in fact they are not difficult because they are basic principles. Naturally, one must clearly explain to a man, must make him understand that, as he is at the same time owner, producer and end user, his income can only be in accord with what has been produced by the unit where he is the owner, and that he cannot live at the expense of another man's work. Of course, we have decided to insure a certain income for each person, but the possibility of earning--first as much as has been established, and then an additional income--is linked to one's work. This must be clearly explained by our party propaganda, both the so-called oral propaganda, and the party educational system, the trade unions, the youth organizations, and the central and local press, through factory billboards and agitation activities, so that it can be clear to everybody. Only when we succeed in making each person understand clearly that this is, in the final analysis, the meaning of participation in leadership, of developing self-management and self-administration, will each unit become self-reliant, as they say, will each unit be able to secure the funds it needs for general development.

If you wish, comrades, from this viewpoint, the system of production cooperatives is clearer. I know that there will be comrades employed in propaganda who will say to themselves: "How can such a thing be possible, this is the reverse of the theory." Of course, theoretically this might not be acceptable, but practically, in fact, this is so, because in the cooperatives we have long since established principles which are well understood by the cooperative members. To begin with, each must contribute a minimum 20-25 percent, and if he can, even more, for the development of the cooperative--and this is withdrawn almost automatically. I could not say that we can take 20-25 percent of the income of all our enterprises for development. We do take that at the national level, all in all, but I could not say that each enterprise is capable of providing that much. Likewise, the incomes of the cooperative members are the result of their work, and as is known, there is a rather big difference between cooperatives. This is the way to self-management and self-administration--and this must be clearly explained to be clear to everyone. Otherwise, comrades, we will continue with the present situation, in which we allocate funds from the budget and in which, in fact, many enterprises derive their incomes not from the results of their own activities, but from the work of other enterprises, from other working people in other sectors of economic life. I have talked about this problem because it is also essential for understanding the development of our society, for enhancing the responsibility of the cadres, of the councils and of the general meetings in leading the economic activities. All these must indeed lead to the creation of a new democracy, a

democracy radically different from the bourgeois democracy, which should in fact be based on direct and conscious participation by the working people in the management of all the fields of activity, from a firm critical and self-critical position. The working people should be intransigent toward shortcomings, and should actively participate in open discussions on problems, not as a matter of form, but with absolute sense of responsibility. One often thinks that things are improving, but upon close examination, one discovers that things are not clear, that the working people did not and do not understand many of the problems and even the laws they had voted on. However, the developing socialist democracy must lead to active participation by the broad masses, by Party and state cadres, at all the levels of the hierarchy, in working out and implementing the Party's policy. Naturally, in this activity we are guided by the principles which govern our society, the principles of democratic centralism, on strengthening the sense of responsibility, discipline and order, on the fact that each person at his work place must optimally fulfill the tasks entrusted to him by the Party and state, his role in the production process, in social life, in various areas of activity.

I believe that the propaganda and educational activities must place greater emphasis on developing in people a sense of responsibility and modest attitudes. Our activists, the Party and state cadres in general, all the communists must behave in a dignified manner, must be deeply aware of their responsibility to the Party and people, and at the same time, must be modest, in the sense of resolutely opposing any waste and thoughtless consumption. And, I repeat, they must fight the rich man's petty-bourgeois spirit which constitutes a grave danger and which we must not tolerate under any circumstance in our Party-state life or in our socialist society. Each person must clearly understand that one cannot consume more than one produces, and that in general, we must not consume everything we produce, and that responsibility to the society, to the people, to the future of our fatherland, responsibility for the construction of the comprehensively developed socialist society and for the country's advance toward communism imply special obligations. They permanently require that a considerable share of the national income be appropriated for the general development of the society. This is the only way leading to continuous development of the human society in general, to the development of the socialist society, to the transition to communism, to strengthening of our socialist fatherland, and insuring a dignified, free and independent life for our entire nation. (Loud and prolonged applause)

Dear comrades, it goes without saying that one of the highest duties of our propaganda and the entire political-educational activity is to educate the broad masses of working people, particularly the youth, in the spirit of the noble ideas that have always inspired the existence of our people, the ideas of patriotism and love for the Party and the socialist fatherland, which all of our nation, under the party leadership, is daily making more beautiful and flourishing. By steadily cultivating these noble feelings, our propaganda must inspire men in their entire activity of building the

new system, must make them do everything and devote full strength and working and creative capacity to implementing the Party policy and insuring the cause of the victory of socialism and communism in Romania. We must raise such a youth and mold such generations of working people that are always ready to make any sacrifice and even sacrifice their lives in order to defend the independence and sovereignty of our socialist fatherland as well as the free and dignified life that is being built today, consciously, in Romania by our people, who are full masters of their destiny.

It is necessary to pay greater attention to the activity of educating the masses and youth in the spirit of love for work and forming a firm attitude toward those wishing to work as little as possible and to receive as much as possible; or, if is possible, to receive as is envisaged in communism and yet do nothing for society, saying that this is what communism envisages: that people work as much as they can--and some say that they cannot work at all--and receive as much as they need. Such an assessment is foreign to both the socialist and communist outlook. Our propaganda must adopt an active attitude toward elucidating these problems. It must not only assert certain general principles, but it must also make it clear that to work as much as possible means to give as much as one is capable of giving, both physically and intellectually, for society. It also means to give priority to general interests. Only then can we say that our propaganda has fully done its duty, when these problems become clear to everybody and action is taken in keeping with them.

As a matter of fact, the new humanism of our society, which attaches primary importance to man, is aimed at increasing the responsibility for the future of the fatherland, for communism, and for insuring that man really becomes an active participant in the entire work of building the new society and that he can always be proud of what he has done and not be ashamed of his work and that he does not back out, at one time or another, or that he does not try to find a cushy place, so to speak, when the going gets tough. The revolutionary humanism actually presupposes an advanced man, a fighter ready for any sacrifice and a revolutionary in all respects. Only such a humanism is revolutionary. This is the kind of humanism we must create in Romania. (Loud and prolonged applause)

You know that there is much talk nowadays in the world about humanitarian problems. I have had the opportunity to refer to these problems on various occasions. However, it is necessary that our party propaganda thoroughly broach them in daily activity, so as to insure that the entire party and all the people understand well the basic differences between the revolutionary humanism of our society and the bourgeois humanism of the society based on oppression and exploitation. We must never forget that the stirring of the problem of the so-called humanism by certain circles is actually aimed at hiding and blurring the evils of the capitalist society and the absence of basic rights for the working people and the broad people's masses.

Our propaganda must clearly and courageously tackle, without reticence, the problem of family reunification and of emigration. We communists have

always had a clear and firm position, that citizens born in a country, those born in Romania, have their fatherland here, not somewhere else. Their families are here, not elsewhere. Even if a relative, a brother, parents or a son are abroad, everybody's place is here, his family is here, where he was born and where he works and lives together with friends and with those who brought him up. He must stay here and must struggle to build the socialist and communist society. (Loud and prolonged applause). If in the case of problems connected with family reunifications--when such problems are indeed real--we mean to find solutions and meet them halfway, then in the case of emigration proper we must be very firm. It is necessary to carry out activity of firm education and propaganda to make things clear and make people understand that to leave the country they were born in is an undignified act, a base act. Even if in one or another country--which has developed in different historical conditions, including on the basis of exploitation and oppression of other peoples--these people can sometimes find better material conditions, they will never find the humane conditions, the humanity of our people, and the social justice that is being achieved today in Romania. (Loud applause).

Party propaganda and the entire political-ideological activity must be firmer explaining our policy on the nationality problem and the principles on which it is based. Our Communist Party has justly solved this problem, in a truly revolutionary spirit, by insuring full equality of rights of all citizens of the fatherland, regardless of nationality, by creating equal conditions and opportunities for everyone to participate in the socioeconomic life, and in running the society, and by guaranteeing the socioeconomic growth of all areas of the fatherland, including those inhabited by other nationalities, and the use of their national language in education, arts and culture.

One must say, however, that our party propaganda has not been known to adequately utilize this rich experience of our party and to highlight the particular achievements attained in solving the nationality problem and in strengthening the unity and brotherhood of all working people, Romanian, Hungarians, Germans and other nationalities, in the work and struggle for the progress and flourishing of the common fatherland and for building socialism and communism on Romania's soil. It is necessary for the entire party propaganda and political-educational activity to devote much greater attention to this problem and to take more resolute action along these lines.

It is also necessary that our propaganda adopt a firmer position toward retrograde and mystic concepts and toward bourgeois ideology. Comrades, we must carry out a more intensive political and ideological activity to raise the consciousness and develop a scientific understanding of social evolution. We must never confuse the policy of peaceful coexistence and the relations between states with different social systems with our firm position toward the capitalist system, and toward any form of social and national oppression, and with our consistent policy to eliminate all kinds of oppression and to insure mankind's free life, so that peoples can be masters of their destiny and that the working people can eliminate class



oppression. This is a basic problem, and our propaganda must always explain it and must help make it clearly understood by all working people and our entire party.

Of course, our international policy is a policy of cooperation and of developing relations with all states. We consider that each country's problems must be solved by the progressive and revolutionary forces of the respective countries and that each people must solve alone the problems facing its country and must insure the development of the system of its choice. This is one problem. Another problem is that we, in our capacity as revolutionaries and communists, must explain such basic differences and must make them clear particularly to the young generation. Thirty years have passed since the socialist and anti-imperialist evolution. Many were young, only 10 or 15 years old at the time and no longer remember what the capitalist system was. We must do everything to make people properly comprehend our view of society and world. This is another problem to be always taken into consideration by our propaganda and by the entire political and educational activity.

Comrades, it goes without saying that our party education must also be improved, not so much its organization as particularly its contents and subjects. Party education must lay more emphasis on these problems. They must constitute an essential feature of the entire education. I believe that it was wrong to leave it up to each county committee to have the last word in drawing up the theses and subjects of the education process. I have great trust in the propagandists of the counties, but on such basic problems, we cannot have 40 ways of understanding these problems or 40 education programs. The program of party education--not only the one in party schools. I am also referring to the program of the mass political education, it must be uniform. The basic theses must be uniformly drafted and must be compulsory for all employees in party education.

Our political publishing house, the propaganda section of the Central Committee and, of course, the ideological commission, with the approval and under the leadership of the executive political committee and of the secretariat of the Central Committee, must draw up the theses and also provide the auxiliary aids, such as the brochures and works that must be printed. It is not enough to recommend that one work or another be studied, one must also draft a series of materials for the party education. It is difficult to send a party member to read all the works of Marx and Lenin, all the decisions of our Central Committee, all the speeches of the secretary general and so forth, and then leave it up to each one of these readers to look for what they must read in these materials. One cannot proceed in this manner. Of course, these materials are at their disposal and one must continue to recommend them for reading in the future, too. They are particularly designed for the higher cadres, but even for these cadres, we must draft educational theses and subjects.

We have left education to develop somewhat by chance. Therefore its results and efficiency--because there is efficiency even here--are not up to our expectations and possibilities and not up to the potentials available in this field.

I believe that our ideological commission has not completely fulfilled its responsibilities, either. We have created this ideological commission, not that it should check certain materials from time to time, but that it should insure collective leadership in this comprehensive activity, which cannot be carried out by a few people alone. The sections are not party bodies and they cannot solve these problems. Of course, neither can the ideological commission alone take such decisions, without the approval of either the secretariat or the executive political committee. However, in a number of problems, it must act as a central committee body, since it is created by the Central Committee, under the permanent leadership of the secretariat or the executive political committee, as the case may be. This also applies, of course, to the respective bodies in the counties.

We must increasingly link party education with concrete problems in each unit, town, commune and county. Of course, one may say: "If certain theses and materials for various general problems are to be given to us, then how are we to link education with practice?" I want to be clearly understood in this respect, comrades, there is no doubt that any thesis must be based on the decisions of the Party congresses, the Party program, Party documents and the country's laws. From this viewpoint, one cannot even conceive of and one must not even permit another interpretation. However, on the basis of these general guidelines and decisions, which must be reflected in all educational programs, the county Party committees and the respective propaganda in each county, under the control of the county secretariat and bureau, must concretely adapt these guidelines and decisions by taking into account the priorities in the respective county. Of course, in an industrial county, emphasis will be laid on the most important problems in the county's industry and on the most topical problems at a given time. The same applies to agriculture and education. In counties with higher education institutions, this fact must be taken into consideration. Therefore, it is necessary to apply this even to communes, since problems differ from commune to commune. But all these are concrete problems, which depend on the manner in which Party decisions are being implemented. As I said at the beginning, we must hold the activists, communists and working people in such a manner as to insure that they cannot only repeat certain theses, but can also find solutions that can be applied and can develop and improve the activity at their place of work. This must eventually be obtained through Party education. If we have not obtained this, then it means that Party education is not up to the mark and does not yield good results.

It goes without saying that our entire Party and the basic Party active and cadres of all fields of activity must participate in the political-ideological activity. The concept, and particularly the practice, that these basic problems facing a revolutionary party must be left up to the activists working in the field of propaganda, is erroneous. One does not talk of a profession here, so to speak, as if one has become an electronics expert, another a lathe worker and so forth. We are dealing here with matters pertaining to the Party's overall policy and to our Party concepts and with the living problems of the Party leadership of society. These problems must therefore concern the entire Party, beginning with the Central Committee, the political

executive committee, the permanent bureau, the secretariat and each member of the Party leadership. In the counties, the county committee, the bureau, the secretariat and downwards, all our Party bodies, must carry out political-ideological activity. One cannot even conceive that the theory and the new tasks should be drafted somewhere by people divorced from the concrete activity and from the day-to-day work and life and from Party-state practice. Such a theory and such a concept will be inadequate from the start, because they will not take into account the realities of our life. Therefore, I again insist and want to be clearly understood that the collective Party bodies are responsible for the ideological and theoretical problems and for Party education. The relevant sections, the propagandists, are the assistants implementing the directives and working under the control and guidance of collective Party bodies. If the ideological work proceeds well or not, this is the direct responsibility of Party bodies. That is why many of the shortcomings to which I referred here--which obviously are the responsibility of those directly involved in this field, too--are due to the fact that our central Party bodies have neither given sufficient attention to these problems nor exerted thorough control over the manner of implementing the decisions taken by the congress and the Party Central Committee, or by the political executive committee and the secretariat. One must say that, in this respect, we have also had certain decisions which unfortunately were not carried to conclusion. That is why, when discussing propaganda problems, we must also see the need to improve the leadership activity of this sector by the relevant Party bodies. In two weeks time we will discuss, with the first secretaries and with the secretaries in charge of organizational matters, the very problems pertaining to the Party leadership of the entire activity and will examine in detail the manner in which county committees are Party-state bodies must carry out activity in all fields.

However, I do not wish to be misunderstood so that the comrades directly responsible for these sectors of propaganda and ideological work could say: "Then let the county committee and the Central Committee be responsible." These comrades are put in charge by the respective bodies and are elected secretaries and members of the bureau so that, within the process of the division of labor, they should be responsible for these problems. But the respective collective bodies must control them and must hold them responsible; they must act to implement decisions as taken and must directly participate in the development of the activity. I know that many good things are done along these lines in many places, in the sense that there is concern for participating in party education and the entire political-educational activity.

Dear comrades, it is necessary to pay more attention to the cultural-artistic activity, which must encompass the broad people's masses and must take place in each socioeconomic unit and each town. We have obtained valuable experience in the first "Hymn to Romania" national festival. Certain things were achieved that deserve to be underscored, regarding the broad participation, the performance of a larger variety of cultural-artistic activities and other fields. But this is only a start. It is necessary to use this experience and to disseminate it, in proceeding with the second contest, which

will begin next year, actually in the fall of this year, we must take this into account and make decisive improvements in this field.

It is also necessary to blend the cultural-artistic mass activity, all its fields, with sport, with the "daciada" and with the effective participation, particularly of youth, in all these competitions. We must bear in mind that, as of next year, we will proceed to reducing the working week, consequently the working people's free time will be greater. In this connection, it is necessary to take measures to better organize the working people's spare time, particularly that of youth. Along these lines, one must openly state that we are not doing what must be done. Let us not forget that young people must be the most active participants in the entire cultural-artistic activity. Therefore, we must pay particular attention to their education and to increasing their political awareness. At the same time, they must also enjoy conditions in which to be able to dance, go on trips, pursue sport and spend their spare time as pleasantly and, at the same time, as instructively as possible.

Very seriously I draw attention to the need to take resolute measures to organize the entire political-educational activity, and also to insure conditions enabling young people to spend their spare time in a manner as pleasant and varied as possible. This activity should encompass the whole of our young people and should be carried out with the direct participation of cadres and leaderships of youth organizations and trade unions and the participation of party activists.

Comrades, I believe that you understood that the problems raised here also refer, bearing in mind each institution's role, to the press, radio and television. The press, radio and television are powerful means for educating, shaping the socialist consciousness, insuring the political education and developing the entire ideological activity. They must be part and parcel, directly and actively, of this entire activity and of the debates on all problems to which I have referred here. I would like to mention that many good things have been done in our press, but that many things still have to be improved. The press must tackle problems more actively, in a more varied manner and with courage, and must disseminate the positive experience acquired. Radio and television must present programs that can really contribute to molding the new man. For example, what did young people understand from last night's television program "youth hour"? I think it was an "hour" that should never have been. Had the comrades said from the start that they wanted to show how not to present such an "hour", only then could it have been understandable, perhaps. We have sent a member of the Party Central Committee secretary, who is also the Chairman of the Radio and Television Council, the leaderships of the Union of Communist Youth and trade unions as well as many Party activists are participating in this activity. Why can such programs be accepted, programs that distort the realities of our society and that falsely present the Party policy on an important problem, such as the problem of youth education?

I am an advocate of criticism and we must criticize the various negative aspects of our activity. But even in the presentation of various economic problems, there have been several television programs where the situation in construction was incorrectly depicted. It is true that there are still many shortcomings in construction, but just when there was more intensive activity following criticism made at a given moment, and when we managed to rapidly rebuild what had been destroyed, the television comrades found only several negative instances. Of course, such instances will always be found on our thousands of building-sites. But one must not talk only about that on TV, one must present the great efforts being made and one must disseminate the positive experience. It is necessary to understand that these bodies and our press must spread the advanced experience and must make an active contribution to insuring that the people's masses understand what they have to do to implement the Party-state policy in various fields of activity. Indeed, we must adopt a critical attitude, but this criticism must be directed in such a manner as to give priority to the concern with making people understand what they have to do and how they must act to fulfill tasks devolving on them, under the best conditions.

I am talking openly here about these matters, because we will have to begin to think very seriously and responsibly and control what we are doing. We cannot accept that things should continue in this way. We would like television programs to be rapidly improved, in keeping with decisions of the Party Central Committee.

I do not even want to harp on the films and some bad plays shown on television, in spite of the fact that we have discussed this matter, and there also is a plenary decision in this respect. I do not know how the comrades manage to discover in their archives, where I believe there are also good films, the worst possible movies with which to fill up the television programming.

Freedom of the press and freedom of expression have nothing in common with the freedom of presenting in our press, on the radio and on television, such films and theater plays, which run counter to or are capable of harming the revolutionary education of our youth and people. Better not show anything. Is it possible no talent emerged from the "Hymn to Romania" festival? Or from hundreds of teams, that presented programs that can also be shown on television? We also have forces that must be put to work. If someone wants to write any play he likes, that is all very well, but we show only those plays on television and in the theaters that correspond to the educational requirements of our society. Just as everyone has the right and freedom to write, so the television and the theater have the right and freedom, moreover the duty, to present only what contributes to and assists the dissemination of our concept about the world and life. (Prolonged applause) Along these lines, we must be clearly understood, both as regards the radio and television, theaters and cinemas, and as regards the entire activity in this field.

The same thing must be said about the activity of creative unions. Of course, there are also many positive aspects here. Generally speaking, there are capable forces and many achievements in all fields of creation, of all genres of literature, of the plastic arts, and of music. However, we must concern ourselves more with the activity of these sectors, in the spirit of decisions taken by the Party Congress and the Central Committee, and those by the national conferences of these unions. Let us adopt measures that can increase the role of these unions in the entire activity of shaping and developing our literary, musical and plastic arts creation, in order to promote a truly revolutionary creation, in keeping with our Party's outlook on the world and life.

In the field of the press, radio and television and creative activity, we have adopted a number of measures, which are in the process of being implemented--as a matter of fact, the activity already proceeds on the basis of these decisions, only the laws have not been finalized--concerning the growth of the responsibility of collective bodies and managements of these organs for their entire activity and also concerning the simultaneous strengthening of the control of the Party and the masses over all these sectors of the ideological life. It is necessary to draw adequate conclusions from these decisions, with regard to the manner in which county Party committees and obviously the Party Central Committee bodies must deal with these sectors, with regard to the way in which communists involved in this field must be guided and controlled and with regard to the modalities for insuring all conditions enabling the broad masses to have a greater say in the entire press, radio and television and artistic creation. I consider these measures to be good. But they will only yield results to the extent that our Party bodies know how to act and fulfill responsibilities devolving on them in these fields, by insuring that each communist and the collective managements of these bodies fulfill their responsibilities and to not wait for someone from the outside to come to see whether a thing was done well or badly.

Proceeding from all these things, I would like to draw attention to the need to increasingly engage the activists and cadres--active in the ideological field, in social sciences and, generally speaking, in propaganda--into participating actively and directly in the entire activity of our Party. Some of the comrades present here know that the few Party members we had in the past among the writers and in the propaganda field were active participants in the Party life. They did not consider it enough that their work should limit itself to writing poetry or novels, they understood that this was only an aspect of this activity. They thought that the main aspect of their activity was effective participation in Party life, Party activity and social life. We did not pay enough attention to the participation of members of creative unions in the social and political activity, and I think that we were also not sufficiently exacting with propagandists and lecturers. We often think that if they go and deliver a lecture or a speech they have carried out Party activity. I repeat, this is but an aspect of Party activity, which must be fulfilled by each Party

member and each member of the county committee, the communal committee and so forth. Party activists, propagandists and lecturers must actively participate in the entire Party life. Only to the extent that they take active part in implementing the overall measures and Party policy in all fields, will they also be good propagandists, good writers, good painters and good lecturers. Only then will they know how to broach ideological and theoretical problems and will they really be able to play a more active part in our entire activity. Along these lines, I believe we must take all measures to improve our entire activity from this aspect as well.

We must do all we can to insure that the ideological, educational and cultural-artistic education is a match for the tasks set by the Central Committee and plays a more active role in implementing the entire Party policy and the 11th Congress decisions.

We have enough forces, we have a strong Party, and we have Party cadres capable of commendably solving problems in this field of Party life. It is necessary, however, to better organize and improve the style of work. Only thus will we be able to rapidly eliminate many of our shortcomings and only thus will we raise the propaganda and the ideological activity to the level of the requirements set by the Congress and the Party Central Committee. (Loud and prolonged applause)

Initially, I also wanted to refer to certain international problems, but I believe I will refrain from doing so now, particularly since I have dealt with these matters several times lately. Generally speaking, the recent development of international events has not brought to the fore new things that warrant a new analysis. As you know, all events have confirmed and are fully confirming the guidelines established by the Congress and by the Party Central Committee during its activity. The central committee, the government and the state leadership are taking action, in keeping with these guidelines, in all problems concerning mankind today, regarding European security, the situation in Africa and the Middle East, and also regarding more general problems, including those connected with the communist and workers movement.

However, I draw attention to the fact that our Party propaganda must be more active in explaining and making clear the guidelines of our Party-state foreign policy and in broadly mobilizing all the people in their implementation.

I believe it is most important that Party propaganda and the political-ideological work--by acting in the spirit of the rich internationalist principles that have always characterized our Party and the Romanian communists--should be concerned consistently and daily with educating the working people and all the people, in the spirit of the noble principles permanently promoted by our Party, principles of friendship and cooperation with the other peoples, and of solidarity and active cooperation with all socialist countries, with peoples building the new system, with

peoples who have won their independence and have embarked upon the road of their free and independent development, with the advanced, anti-imperialist and progressive forces everywhere, and with all those advocating and militating for a better and more just world on our planet, a world of peace and cooperation.

I do not wish to dwell any longer now on international issues, particularly since we shall be holding the national conference [of the Party] which will also have to make a more thorough analysis of the international situation and will establish future guidelines for our party and state in the activity on the world plane.

Comrades, these are the problems to which I wanted to refer today, at this meeting of the Party activ and cadres from the field of the political-ideological activity.

I would like the comrades to present these problems in detail before the county committees, so as to establish concrete programs of measures, on the basis of what has been discussed here, both as regards the overall political, educational and ideological activity, and as regards the organization of Party education, with a view to improving the activity in all fields as of the start of this year's Party education.

I stress once more that we have the necessary forces, the Party policy, the Congress decisions and the Party program are particularly important documents, which give a clear and revolutionary vision of great perspective for our Party activity. We must organize our activity in keeping with and on the basis of these documents. We have everything we need, and I am convinced we will improve our activity.

I wish you success in all this activity. (Loud applause and prolonged cheers, prolonged chants: "Ceausescu-RCP." All those present cheer, in a lively atmosphere, for the RCP, its Central Committee and the Party Secretary General, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu]

CSO: 2700



ROMANIA

ROMANIAN LEADERS GREET DPRK LEADERS ON NATIONAL DAY

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 8 Sep 77 p 5 AU

[Text of cable sent by Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu and Premier Manea Manescu to DPRK President Kim Il-Song and Premier Pak Song-Chol on DPRK National Day]

[Text] To Comrade Kim Il-Song, general secretary of the Korean Workers Party [KWP] Central Committee and DPRK President, and Comrade Pak Song-Chol, DPRK premier, Pyongyang.

Dear comrades, on behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the state council and government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and on our own behalf, we take great pleasure in extending our sincere congratulations to the KWP Central Committee, the Central People's Committee, the administrative council and to the Korean people, as well as warm fraternal greetings on the 29th anniversary of the creation of the DPRK.

As an expression of the masses' loftiest aspirations for national and social liberation, the revolutionary act of 9 September 1948, crowning the heroic struggle waged throughout the years by the Korean people against imperialist occupation, for the triumph of the ideals of freedom, national independence and social progress, marked a moment of tremendous significance in their life and destiny.

In the years that followed, the Korean people, under the leadership of the KWP headed by Comrade Kim Il-Song, defeated imperialist aggression and worked with devotion and diligence to be able to turn the DPRK into a socialist state with a strong industry, modern agriculture and a flourishing science and culture.

The working people in our country and all Romanian people hail with all their joy the remarkable achievements recorded by the Korean people in the continuous flourishing of the DPRK and assert their complete solidarity with the Korean people's struggle for the peaceful and independent unification of their fatherland, without any outside interference.

In highly appreciating the lasting Romanian-DPRK relations of friendship, all-round cooperation and militant solidarity, on this occasion, too, we want to express our determination to take joint actions aimed at continuously developing cooperation between the RCP and KWP and between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the DPRK in keeping with the understanding we concluded in Pyongyang and Bucharest, and with the treaty of friendship and cooperation, in the interests of both our peoples and the cause of the socialist countries' unity, and of strengthening the anti-imperialist, peace-loving and progressive forces throughout the world.

On your great National Day, we take special pleasure in extending to you, esteemed comrades, and through you to the fraternal Korean people, best wishes for ever greater successes in building socialism and best wishes for the Korean people's well-being and happiness and for complete success in the struggle for achieving the basic aspiration of national unity.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Manea Manescu, premier of the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

DECREE ON ORGANIZATION OF DEPARTMENT OF CULTS AMENDED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 96, 31 Aug 77 p 2

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article II--Decree No 334/1970 on the organization and operation of the Department of Cults, which became Law No 42/1970, with subsequent modifications, is amended as follows:

1. Article 19 will have the following content:

"Article 19--The Department of Cults has the following organizational structure:

- a) The Directorate for Cult Relations;
- b) The Directorate for Foreign Relations and Secretariat;
- c) The Economic-Financial Service.

In order to carry out its functions in the counties and in Bucharest Municipality, the Department of Cults has specialized inspectors who belong to the Directorate for Cult Relations.

The organizational structure according to work departments and the maximum number of positions in the apparatus of the department are stipulated in annex No 1\*) and annex No 2\*), which are an integral part of the present decree."

2. Article 25 will have the following content:

"Article 25--The work method of the specialized territorial inspectors for cult problems with the local state organs will be established by the Department of Cults in agreement with the appropriate central organs."

3. Article 26 will have the following content:

"Article 26--The executive committees of the people's councils of the counties and of Bucharest Municipality will provide the necessary material resources for the specialized territorial inspectors for cults to carry out their activity."

Article II--Decree No 334/1970, which later became Law No 42/1970, with subsequent modifications, will be republished, with new numbers being given to the articles and the annexes.

\*Annexes 1 and 2 are being transmitted to the institutions concerned.

Nicolae Ceausescu,  
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 31 Aug 77  
No 313

ROMANIA

DIVORCE PROVISIONS IN CODE OF CIVIL PROCEDURE MODIFIED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 96, 31 Aug 77 p 1

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Sole article--The Code of Civil Procedure is amended as follows:

1. Article 613<sup>1</sup>, paragraph 1 will have the following content:

"The chairman of the court, receiving the divorce request, will immediately set the date for the judgment in public session in cases in which divorce is sought because the accused spouse:

- a) suffers from chronic mental alienation or chronic mental debility;
- b) has been declared missing by final judicial decision;
- c) has left his or her spouse, establishing residence abroad."

2. After paragraph 3 of article 616 a new paragraph, with the following content, is inserted:

"In cases stipulated by article 613<sup>1</sup>, paragraph 1, letters a), b) and c), the court, on the basis of the evidence, will be able to grant the divorce the first day of appearance."

Nicolae Ceausescu,  
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 31 Aug 77  
No 312

ROMANIA

SPECIAL SYMBOL ON MILITARY SHIPS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 96, 31 Aug 77 p 2

[Council of State Decree Modifying a Provision of Decree No 1016/1966 on the Regulation of the Granting of the Unit Battle Flag to Large Units of all Branches, the Modification of the Display of the Colors and the Banners of Naval Ships and Coast Guard Ships, the Establishment of the Distinctive Sign and the Signs of Command on Naval Ships and Coast Guard Ships, the Jack for Naval Ships and the Distinctive Colors for Coast Guard Ships, as Modified by Decree No 150/1974]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Sole article--Article 8, paragraph 1, letter a) of Decree No 1016/1966, with subsequent modifications, is amended and will have the following content:

"a) The distinctive sign is a symbol which is displayed on naval and coast guard ships, in accordance with the regulation for service aboard military vessels, when the secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the supreme commander of the armed forces is on board the respective ship."

Nicolae Ceausescu,  
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 31 Aug 77  
No 314

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

NEW POSITION FOR DIMA--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Romus Dima is relieved of his position as state secretary in the Council for Socialist Culture and Education and is delegated to execute the function of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Bucharest Municipality. [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 96, 31 Aug 77 p 4]

CSO: 2700

END